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ADOLESCENT POLITICAL ALIENATION

by



Grace Darlene Skogstad

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read,
and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for
acceptance, a thesis entitled "ADOLESCENT POLITICAL
ALIENATION", submitted by Grace Darlene Skogstad,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

ABSTRACT

The research reported in this thesis was guided by two major objectives. The first objective was to examine adolescent political alienation in a Western Canadian province. The second goal was to reveal something about the nature of the political socialization process in that province, and hence, in Canada. By examining adolescent political alienation within the framework of political socialization, it was hoped that both goals could be achieved simultaneously.

Measures to tap adolescent political alienation were constructed and administered to 1,354 junior and senior high school students, of whom almost equal numbers were drawn from rural and urban schools. Chapter 4 gives a detailed account of the construction of these measures. In order to understand better the nature of these political alienation feelings, the measures of political alienation were related to indices of politicization, political information, social trust, social isolation, and, as well, several family background variables. The results of these statistical analyses are presented in Chapters 6 and 7. As well, multiple regression was utilized to arrive at more concise descriptions of the major relationships among the indicators of political alienation and the independent variables previously mentioned.

The research substantiated two hypotheses of the author: one, that the concept of political alienation is a meaningful concept within the adolescent groups studied here; and two, that the political socialization of Canadian adolescents appears to be quite different from that of adolescents in the United States.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the publication of David Easton's theoretical framework, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, it has become almost axiomatic to claim citizen support as a requisite to the maintenance (or, if one prefers, stability) of non-totalitarian political systems over an extended period of time.¹ Citizens are said to support a political system so long as they either ". . . lend their favor to some set of authorities and . . . accept their actions as binding, even if only tentatively, reluctantly, or under coercion,", or, acquiesce in the actions of political authorities.² A citizen supports a political system either by acting on its behalf, or by orienting himself favorably towards it, or both.³ Because of the unfeasibility and limited opportunity for citizens to engage in overt (behavioral) support of the political system, it is essential that they possess supportive attitudes. David Easton defines the individual with supportive attitudes to be the citizen who is attached to the goals and norms of the system and approves of the structure of authority as legitimate.⁴ It is necessary for effective and efficient governing that political authorities be assured of the reliability of supportive attitudes -- that support not be contingent upon satisfaction with policy outcomes. What is necessary is a reservoir of support that is extended unconditionally ". . . and helps members to

accept or tolerate outputs to which they are opposed or the effects of which they see as damaging to their wants."⁵ Easton calls this diffuse support, and holds that because it is grounded in ". . . convictions held by members of political systems that political objects are morally proper or just simply appropriate",⁶ it ensures support for the political system. Such "legitimacy beliefs" are the crucial components of the supportive attitudes that ensure the stability of political systems:

The capacity of the authorities to rule is closely connected to the presence of an ingrained belief . . . that the occupants of the political authority roles have a right to command and the other members of the system a duty to obey. The major source of power for these roles resides in the prevalence of conviction of their legitimacy.⁷

Easton posits that within the political system there are two major foci of legitimacy beliefs: the political authorities and the regime. Political authorities are the incumbents of the political institutions (structures); the regime refers to the rules and norms of procedure of the political structures and of the political authorities as incumbents of those structures. He argues that evaluations of the legitimacy of the political system will be based upon assessments of the following: the personal qualities of the political leaders; the extent to which political structures (or more precisely, the political authorities occupying those structures) are perceived to be fulfilling

appropriate and worthy purposes; and the degree to which the underlying ideological principles of the political structures are held to be right and proper and/or compatible with the citizens' own ideological positions. There are then three respective dimensions of legitimacy -- ideological, structural, and personal. Assessments of the legitimacy of political authorities are within the personal and structural domains.

What about those individuals who do not support the political system, either actively or passively? These are the individuals who are described here as being politically alienated. While the term will not be vigorously defined at this point, an intuitive notion of political alienation as "estrangement from the political system", should suffice to make clear that political alienation is something distinct from political support. Ada Finifter explicates the juxtaposition of political alienation and political support, positing political alienation ". . . as one end of a continuum whose opposite extreme is defined by the concepts of support or integration"8 Those individuals who are alienated because they are disenchanted with the political system jeopardize the stability of the political system. Hence, the motivation for studying political alienation is essentially pragmatic.

Easton's framework is regarded here to be a useful

one for exploring the political alienation of adolescents. The exploration of feelings of political alienation focuses upon personal and structural dimensions of legitimacy beliefs, and, as importantly for the purposes here, the relationship between the two dimensions. Such a formulation requires, of course, a careful examination of both the personal and structural aspects of images of political authority. How have other political researchers investigated personal and structural dimensions of legitimacy beliefs? It is to this concern that we now turn.

Chapter 1: Notes

1. David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York, 1965).
2. David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System The Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York, 1969). The emphasis is mine.
3. David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, 159.
4. David Easton, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy", American Political Science Review, 61, 1(March, 1967), 25-38.
5. David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, 273.
6. Edward Muller, "Beliefs in the Legitimacy of Regime Structures", Midwest Journal of Political Science, 14, 3(August, 1970), 392.
7. Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, 208.
8. Ada Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation", American Political Science Review, 64, 2(June, 1970), 389.

CHAPTER 2

AN EXAMINATION OF CHILDREN'S IMAGES OF POLITICAL AUTHORITIES

The investigation of images of political authorities has been one approach to the study of system support, and, hence, to political alienation. Assuming that children who are positively oriented towards political authorities will grow into adults who are not disaffected with the political system, researchers have investigated children's images of political authorities, seeking the origins of the belief in the legitimacy of the political system.¹ Owing to the assumptions that supportive attitudes are learned attitudes and of a developmental nature, the study of system support has come under the rubric of political socialization.² Students of political socialization have conducted cross-sectional studies, focusing upon the nature of the images of political authorities held by children of varying ages. In doing so, their research efforts, and the conclusions which they have drawn from these studies, have been influenced by the theories of learning (behavior) to which they have adhered. Early socialization studies of images of political authority bear the impact of a psychocultural orientation to learning, as contrasted with a role theory perspective.³ A psychocultural theory of learning stresses political learning as "nondeliberate" and "accidental" -- the result of self-socializing activities. Political learning is a process of identification and adaptation to

environmental stimuli in light of inner needs. In contrast, a role theory orientation posits learning as a process of interaction between the individual and his social environment; hence, interest is directed to ". . . the context and content of interaction between the individual and his social environment . . . who interacts with him, under what psychological conditions, with what kinds of messages, and with which types of reinforcement resources."⁴ The individual's role in these interactions is de-emphasized and the stimuli for socialization are seen to be environmental. Political socialization is thus viewed in one of two ways: either as a process of accumulation of knowledge and attitudes as a consequence of direct teaching and/or the informal influence process; or, as a process of apprenticeship whereby the individual, as a result of his experiences within different social contexts acquires the skills and values that define the political role he will perform as an adult.

While both role theory and psychocultural theory have achieved respectability among students of political socialization, there has been almost a delineation of responsibility. Psychocultural theory has been generally accepted as most appropriate to "explain" political socialization during childhood, while role theory has been utilized to "explain" political learning during adolescence.⁵ It is maintained in this thesis that this has been an

unfortunate delineation of responsibility in terms of what it has meant for the interpretation of the nature of established childhood political attitudes. The acceptance of the appropriateness of psychocultural theory to "explain" childhood political socialization has meant that certain tenets of psychocultural theory have clouded the interpretation of the findings of these studies. More specifically, this delineation has led to the acceptance of at least two propositions which should more properly be treated as hypothetical rather than as axiomatic. These two propositions concern one, the persistence of early learning; and two, the cumulative nature of the political socialization process. The study of attitudes of political legitimacy is a case in point, as the following analysis of existing studies of images of political authority will hopefully make clear.

Exploratory studies, generally entailing personal interviews with children, sought the origins of system support in children's feelings about political authority figures that were highly visible in the political system. Greenstein asked children in grades four to eight to assess the "goodness", importance, and job performance of the mayor, governor, and President vis-a-vis their father, and local authority figures, both political (the policeman) and non-political (the school principal).⁶ Both Greenstein, and Easton and Dennis used both structured and unstructured interviews to probe into children's responses to statements

expressing their liking for the President, policeman, and other political figures; and faith in the latter's benevolence.⁷ Children's evaluations of the role performance, that is, power and leadership of the President, policeman, and other authority figures, vis-à-vis the power and leadership of non-political authority figures were taken to measure respect for political authority. Hess and Easton relied not only upon reports of the personal and moral qualities and role competence of the President and policeman -- as garnered by estimations of how hard each works, his honesty, his liking for people, his knowledge -- but upon a political cynicism scale as well to ascertain childhood perceptions of the benevolence and infallibility of major political figures.⁸ The most extensive analysis of the evaluative, affective, and cognitive dimensions of children's images of political authorities has been undertaken by Easton and Dennis.⁹ Bringing together much of the existing research and conjecturing about its implications, Easton and Dennis have gone so far as to suggest that the process of acquiring diffuse supportive attitudes can be described in terms of four major concepts: personalization, idealization, politicization, and institutionalization.¹⁰

The significant point about all these studies is the high degree to which they corroborate one another.¹¹ The results of these studies substantiate that at a very young age children have highly idealized and positive images of

the very central authority figures -- particularly the President. As Hess and Torney conclude:

The young child's involvement with the political system begins with a strong positive attachment to the country; the United States is seen as ideal and superior to the other countries. This attachment to the country is stable and shows almost no change¹² through elementary school years

Findings that "early faith in political authority figures" and "strong positive attachment to the country"¹³ are both orientations acquired "uncritically and at a nonconscious level"¹⁴, alongside evidence that children as old as fourteen years continue to be favorably disposed towards the government, is enough to ensure for researchers who are psychoanalytically bent, the longevity of ". . . fundamental political loyalties and their persistence throughout life as reference and orienting points."¹⁵ Dawson and Prewitt have concluded the persistent and cumulative nature of this early learning:

We suggest that the development of political orientations is cumulative. Early orientations greatly influence later acquisitions. The range of beliefs, information, and attitudes one adopts in later life are limited by early political learning. The development of strong attachments to a particular political or social grouping will tend to prescribe one set of political choices and experiences, and to delimit others. Selective perceptivity by the individual helps assure that the basic labels and identifications acquired early are not drastically challenged in later life.¹⁶

Yet another conclusion of these studies has been the claim that evidence of strong affective sentiments towards certain discrete objects of authority -- sentiments almost void of political content -- is proof of an "awareness of and acceptance of the presence, power, and legitimacy of an authority external and superior to the family."¹⁷

No dispute is had with the claim that the process of political socialization proceeds upon, and occurs in the wake of this firmly founded deep-seated attachment to the nation and to those political figures, symbols, and structures that embody the concept of the nation. However, dispute is had, on two accounts, with the conclusions drawn from these studies. Firstly, these studies have misconstrued what are essentially affective orientations for beliefs with cognitive content. Secondly, evidence of early, deep-seated attachments to the political system does not eliminate the possibility of adolescent alienation from the political system.

With regard to the first criticism, it is maintained that the research of Easton and Dennis confirms no more than the early development of strong, affective ties indicative of a feeling of membership in the political system. Their research does not support their interpretation of such sentiments as evidence that very young adolescents believe that incumbents of political authority structures are legitimate and their role performance above controversy. The direct effort of Easton and Dennis to examine adolescents'

legitimacy beliefs about the scope of government is also subject to criticism. The child was asked to agree or disagree with six statements purportedly measuring beliefs about the legitimate sphere of governmental jurisdiction.¹⁸ However, owing to the social-welfare aspect of some of these statements, the ideological bias of the scale detracts from its usefulness as a measure of legitimacy beliefs about the scope of the government. That is, Easton and Dennis were tapping responses about what constitutes good governmental policies, rather than responses about whether such governmental policies ought to be the concern of the government. It should be noted that Roberta Sigel produced evidence which led her to conclude that children's perceptions of political authorities were not void of political content.¹⁹ Spontaneous elicitation of "political issues" in response to sentence completions to "what I remember most about the President" and "what I liked about him [President Kennedy]" led Sigel to conclude that these early orientations were not purely emotional. However, a note of caution must be injected, and it is that information about President Kennedy was probably higher than information about other Presidents.

It has earlier been noted that only images toward specified institutional figures have been ascertained. The right of institutions like the Presidency, Congress, and the Supreme Court in the United States to govern is

sanctioned by the constitution. But other structures, like interest groups such as labour unions, for example, perform political roles which are sanctioned only by custom and convention. Images of these informal political structures have not been explicitly tapped. By not giving children the opportunity to comment upon the informal trappings of the political system, political researchers may well have closed the door to the possibility of revealing attitudes of disenchantment with political authority.

The second point of contention with the conclusions drawn from these studies of children's images of political authorities concerns the claim of persistent and cumulative nature of these early orientations. It is important to emphasize that no argument is had here with the contention that this early sense of membership, of loyalty to a regime or nation (what Easton and Dennis call "diffuse support"), endures for life. What is suggested is the conceivability of early feelings of affect and faith in political authority figures not being sustained as the individual's political self develops,²⁰ for

. . . if socialization is role learning
. . . it follows that in any but the
most static societies, the individual
cannot possibly be prepared during childhood for the complex roles that he will
be called upon to play at later periods
in life. ²¹

(These considerations are congruent with a role-theorist orientation to the study of political socialization.)

The above premise is based upon the following considerations. Firstly, there are indications that the child's enthusiasm for political authority figures wanes somewhat as he grows older. Greenstein found a slight shift over the fourth through eighth grade period away from idealization of leaders.²² Secondly, the child's attitudes of support for the "regime" are acquired in the presence of a restricted perception of the political system. A study by Abelson and O'Neil carefully documents the incapacity of the pre-fifteen year old to conceptualize political authority as a set of differentiated roles.²³ Other research substantiates their conclusion.²⁴ It is not until nearly adolescence that the child acquires very much information about the political system and it is only during the teenage years that we witness ". . . increased frequency of political interest, following political events, identification with political parties, and participation in political groups."²⁵ It is speculated that, if the child develops loyalties to political sub-groupings, his sense of attachment to political authority figures may well be weakened if he perceives those political sub-groupings not to be receiving "satisfactory treatment". It is also suggested that acquisition of information and participatory experiences may result in perception of incongruence between political norms and political realities.²⁶ The individual's attempt to define his position vis-à-vis the political authorities may be

construed as a process of reality-testing in which the individual examines whether the performance of political authorities is congruent with his image of what it should be. It was in light of the above considerations that we concluded the a priori plausibility of the claim of adolescent political alienation.

The nature of the political socialization process in Canada remains as yet unexplored. Yet, there are a priori reasons to believe that the learning of political attitudes in the two countries may be different with respect to both the content and agents of socialization. This premise is based upon three considerations: one, the belief that the role of the school in inculcating supportive attitudes appears to be less explicit and well-defined in Canada than in the United States; two, the conviction that the political systems differ in certain respects; and three, the general belief that political socialization differs across different regions.

No courses comparable to the civics courses mandatory in American schools are offered in Canadian schools. An examination of the curricula guidelines for the junior and senior high school Social Studies courses in the province of Alberta revealed that only at the seventh and tenth grade levels did the curricula explicitly include an examination of the Canadian system of government. And this examination was largely historical, entailing the tracing of the evolution of the

Canadian parliamentary and cabinet systems of government. Students examined the structure of the local (municipal) governments in grade ten Social Studies. While individual teachers may view it as their duty to instill feelings of patriotism and loyalty in the children, nowhere do the curricula explicitly instruct them to do so. Two possibilities then exist. One possibility is for patriotic feelings to have their source in classroom rituals, like saluting the flag (pledging allegiance to the Queen) or in Canadian history courses wherein explorers and political leaders may be venerated. If this were the case, the child may then have an almost entirely emotional orientation to the political system, rather than an orientation grounded in knowledge of that system. The other possibility is that some political attitudes which are seemingly taught in American schools may not be taught in Canadian schools at all, or may be taught by other "agencies".

The school authorities' not perceiving an obligation to inculcate deliberately citizenship orientations may have implications for the political socialization process, and, yet again, it may not. The teacher, the curricula, and classroom rituals are all aspects of the American school system which have been studied as agents of political socialization which bear upon what the American student learns about the political system. Torney and Hess proved to their satisfaction that the public school was "the most important

and effective instrument of political socialization", and the public school teacher and the civics courses, the agents in that influence (learning) process.²⁷ While their study contains serious difficulties, their analysis does reveal a continuity between teacher and student attitudes about the values of citizen compliance and citizen duty. On the other extreme, Langton compared the attitudes of students who had taken at least one civics course and those of students who had not, and could find only small changes in the attitudes of the experimental group.²⁸ He failed to find evidence that the civics curriculum had a significant impact on the political attitudes of American high school students, even when he controlled for sex, grade average, quality of the school, the student's political interest, parent's education, and parent's party identification. On the basis of the above studies, we may assume that the school system may affect the adolescent's political attitudes, including his supportive orientations. It is suggested here that the role of the curricula and the teacher in the socialization of supportive attitudes is less deliberate in Canada than in the United States.

The second reason for believing that studies of political socialization within the United States are not necessarily generalizable to the Canadian experience stems from the consideration that, while both the United States and Canada have federal systems of government, with governing

powers divided between two levels of government, the political systems differ in certain respects. For instance, Canadians may be less willing to recognize the need for a strong federal government, than are the citizens of the United States. While it can be argued that the Southern United States is characterized by a regional political culture which looks within itself rather than to Washington, D.C., for the solution to its problems, separatist sentiments and third party electoral support are phenomena much more descriptive of the Canadian political system than of the American. If it is the case that Canadians are less supportive of a strong federal government than are Americans, might not the Canadian child become oriented toward the provincial sphere rather than the national sphere as seems to be the case in the United States?²⁹ In addition, the separation of powers in the United States has given the President a clear and highly visible position in the government, whereas there is greater room for confusion and ambiguity about the role of the Prime Minister, who owes his position to his party's relationship with the House of Commons. It is highly doubtful that the Queen, who is the constitutional head of Government, personifies the Canadian Federal Government, or Canada itself, in any sense comparable to the American President's personification of the Government of the United States, or the United States itself. Easton and Dennis suggest that such aspects of the political struc-

tures may affect the young child's acquaintanceship with the political system:

In systems where authority objects are less capable [than the American system] of losing their abstract character - where they are less amenable to being personalized, to being made highly visible and salient, or where the collectivity of authorities cannot readily be typified by a few strategic individuals or types of roles - we would expect the child to establish contact with the system less readily, more clumsily and abstractly, and probably at a later, less impressionable age.³⁰

The third reason for the reluctance to generalize studies of the political learning process in the United States to Canada is the belief that existing studies of political socialization in the United States themselves give us reason to believe that political socialization may differ across different social climates and regions within a country. This is tantamount to claiming that there is not one political culture per political system, but political sub-cultures within a country. (The rationale behind the notion of political sub-cultures includes an assumption of the validity of the role-theorist orientation to the study of political socialization.) A political sub-culture may be distinguished by a strata of the population either persistently differing on policy matters or orienting itself in a fundamentally different way towards the political structures.³¹ There is evidence of political sub-cultures within the United States. Many

theorists have suggested that the southeastern United States is a whole political culture in itself, one different in many respects from that prevailing in other parts of the United States. Other evidence refers to more specific populations. A study of children's images of political authority figures in the Appalachian region of eastern Kentucky, a region characterized by rejection of and hostility towards federal political authorities, showed that these children did not regard the President with the same affect and benevolence as children in large urban centres.³² This study seems to suggest that social class and residence (residence, insofar as standards of living differ from region to region) may be important factors in the development of a political sub-culture.

Edgar Litt investigated the effects of civics courses textbooks in schools in upper middle, lower middle, and working class districts in the United States, and found that students in the three different communities were being taught to play different roles.³³ The effectiveness of the school civics program was limited for the most part not to changing political beliefs across five dimensions but to reaffirming political beliefs that already prevailed within the school subsystem.³⁴ Litt thus concluded that the effects of the school and the wider social climate are compounded. Litt's study suggests that the social climate within which an individual moves may affect that individual's political

attitudes. (Litt defines social climate in terms of socioeconomic status.)

One further study which suggests the impact of the environment upon children's political orientations should be mentioned. Greenberg found that black children in grades three to seven judge the United States National Government somewhat less favorably than do white children in the same grades.³⁵ Black children tend to see governmental leaders as less responsive to the demands of the people. However, over grades seven to nine, black children recover affect for all levels of government, most markedly the National Government. In addition, black students lag behind white students in their development of participative orientations; Greenberg speculates that this is the consequence of black feelings of powerlessness in governmental affairs. At any rate, this study, as the two previously cited studies, raises the possibility of the portrait of political socialization as a consensual and homogeneous process being applicable only to the sample from which it was drawn -- white, urban middle-class children in the United States. It also leads us to affirm our belief in the danger of assuming the generality of studies of the American political socialization process to the Canadian context. It is with this thought in mind that the specific intent of this thesis is now discussed.

Notes: Chapter 2

1. Easton and Dennis, op.cit., 106 - 107.
2. For a discussion of the concept of political socialization, see the following: Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston, 1969); Jack Dennis, "Major Problems of Political Socialization Research", Midwest Journal of Political Science, 12 (1968), 85 - 114; David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System, op.cit., 3 - 95; Lewis Froman, "Learning Political Attitudes", Western Political Quarterly, (1962), 305 - 313; Lewis Froman, "Personality and Political Socialization", Journal of Politics, 23(May, 1961), 341 - 352; Fred Greenstein, "Political Socialization", The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York, 1968); Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361 (Sept., 1965), 1 - 9.
3. For a discussion of the psychocultural approach to political socialization, see Dawson and Prewitt, ibid. For an example of research conducted from a role-theorist perspective, see Easton and Dennis, ibid.
4. Easton and Dennis, ibid., 326.
5. Greenstein, Children and Politics, and Hess and Easton, "The Child's Changing Images of the President", Public Opinion Quarterly, 24(Winter, 1960), 632 - 644 are two research efforts which use psychocultural theory to "explain" childhood political socialization. An example of a piece of research which uses role theory to "explain" adolescent political learning is that of Easton and Dennis, ibid.
6. Fred Greenstein, Children and Politics. While one may legitimately question whether the policeman is, in fact, a political figure, it does seem to be the case that events in the United States in the late 1960's (more specifically, protest demonstrations by students and other citizens which have been patrolled by policemen, militia and the National Guardsmen) have done much to make the policeman's role a political one.
7. David Easton and Robert Hess, "The Child's Political World", Midwest Journal of Political Science, 6, 3(1962), 229 - 246; Fred Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority", American Political Science Review, 54 (1960), 934 - 944.
8. Robert Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Images of the President", Public Opinion Quarterly, 24 (Winter, 1960), 632 - 644.

9. Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System.
10. Ibid., 391 - 393.
11. D.Jaros, H. Hirsch, and F.J. Fleron, Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Subculture", American Political Science Review, 62, 2(1968), 564 - 575, suggest that the generality of these findings may be limited to large urban centres in the United States.
12. Robert Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago, 1967), 213.
13. Ibid., 213, 242.
14. Greenstein, Children and Politics, 67.
15. Dawson and Prewitt, op.cit., 61.
16. Ibid., 24.
17. Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, 395.
18. Ibid., 128 - 130.
Items in the scale include the following:
 - a) The government is getting too big for America.
 - b) The government meddles too much in our private lives.
 - c) The government has too much power.
 - d) The United States government usually knows what is best for the people.
 - e) The government ought to give money and food to people out of work.
 - f) The government should have more power over the people.
19. Roberta Sigel, "Image of a President: Some Insights into the Political Views of School Children", American Political Science Review, 62(March, 1968), 216 - 226.
20. Dawson and Prewitt, op.cit., 17 - 24.
21. William Sewell, "Some Recent Developments in Socialization Theory and Research", The Annals, 349(Sept., 1963), 173.
22. Greenstein, op.cit., 17 - 24.
23. Joseph Adelson and Robert O'Neil, "Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence: The Sense of Community", Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 4(1966), 304 - 305.
24. Fred Greenstein, "Political Socialization", 551;
Fred Greenstein, Children and Politics, 163.
25. Dawson and Prewitt, op.cit., 81.
26. Ibid., 87.

27. Hess and Torney, op.cit., 120.
28. Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States", American Political Science Review, 62, 3(1968), 866.
29. Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System.
30. Ibid., 324.
31. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston, 1965), 26 - 29.
32. Jaros et al., op.cit., 564 - 575.
33. Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms, and Political Indoctrination", American Sociological Review, 28(Feb., 1963), 69 - 75.
34. The five dimensions are: support for democratic creed, attitudes toward political participation of citizens, chauvinism for American political institutions, awareness of politics as resolution of group conflicts, and knowledge of the political process, politicians, and power.
35. Greenberg, Edward S., "Children and Government: A Comparison Across Racial Lines", Midwest Journal of Political Science, 14, 2(May, 1970), 249.

CHAPTER 3

THE SAMPLE

In June, 1970, questionnaires were self-administered by 1,354 junior and senior high school students in Alberta.¹ Of these students, 765 were junior and senior high school students in a town in a farming district of rural Alberta; 589 were students in two junior and senior high schools in a large urban centre.² 97% of the student population is between the ages of twelve and eighteen years.

Why these populations? Why junior and senior high school students? And why the "urban" and "rural" groups?³

The decision to begin investigating political attitudes at the junior high school level was based upon conclusions reached by several independent researchers of political learning, that, with respect to American school children, it is only at the seventh or eighth grade levels, that ". . . the child has acquired a considerable ability to identify and describe the varying kinds of political roles and to distinguish them from the parental role" -- meaning that only now does the adolescent begin to orient himself toward impersonal political objects (like institutions) and away from personal authority figures.⁴ Not only are the institutions rather than the incumbents the salient orienting objects, but

. . . the values, norms, and structures of the regime have become salient political objects. Although seventh and eighth grade children's understanding of regime values

and norms is rudimentary, they appear to be aware of, and support, such components of the American legitimating ideology as popular government, the constitutional system, observance of legal processes of change, and the desirability and possibility of an equal chance for all to succeed.⁵

It was because we were seeking to examine political alienation as both an evaluative orientation based upon affective considerations, and an evaluative orientation, the result of rational considerations, that we did not wish to sample pre-junior high school students, believing that it would be difficult to tap anything more than an evaluation based upon political authorities as persons, at this level.

There is as well a second reason for not including the pre-junior high school student. Abelson and O'Neil have documented the incapacity of the pre-thirteen year old to appraise political events as having social as well as personal consequences.⁶ What is missing in the pre-teenager is a sense of community which enables the adolescent to judge the merits of political events and political policies according not only to their effect upon himself and his family, but to their implications for the majority of the citizens as well. How does one distinguish between specific support -- contingent upon favorable policy outputs -- and diffuse support in the individual whose disapproval of policy and Government generally is based upon personal considerations and not upon consideration of the beneficial or detrimental nature of that policy for the majority of the citizens?

Both "rural" and "urban" population groupings were included in an effort to determine whether rural and urban residence are two different "social climates" that may result in different political sub-cultures.

The two populations were examined for their evenness of distribution over grade, sex, and residence. As well, the two groups of students were investigated for comparability with respect to sex, religious affiliation, father's occupation, family income, and mother's and father's level of education. Except for there being a larger number of grade ten students (who are "urban students"), the population as a whole is fairly evenly distributed across grades seven to twelve. (See Table 3.1) The distribution of boys and girls within the study as a whole, across grades, and across rural-urban groups is fairly proportionate, with there being slightly fewer girls than boys in Grades 7, 8, and 9; and slightly more boys than girls in Grades 11 and 12. (See Tables 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4.) There are, however, important differences in the two groups with respect to religious affiliation, father's occupation, and family income. The two urban schools are both Roman Catholic schools, whereas the rural school is non-denominational. As Table 3.5 indicates, while the urban schools are 96% Catholic, the rural school is 14% Catholic, and 55% Protestant. The mean family income of the study group, as ascertained by students' responses, is \$6,762;

for the rural group, the figure drops to \$5,728; for the urban group, it rises to \$7,868.⁷ These income differences are more meaningful when we note, by looking at Table 3.6, that 45% of the rural population of students' families, as compared to 14% of the urban population of students' families, earns less than \$6,000 annually. Only a little more than one third of the rural students' families (35%), as contrasted to almost two-thirds (63%) of the urban students' families, earns more than \$8,000 annually. There are only slight income differences across grades. As Table 3.7 shows, significant differences also exist with respect to father's occupation, even when the occupation of "farming" is excluded.⁸ The two populations do not differ with respect to level of mother's education, but do differ along father's educational level.⁹ (See Tables 3.8 and 3.9.) The modal level of education for fathers of rural students is "some high school"; for fathers of urban students, the modal level is "finished high school".

These differences across the two study groups provide the opportunity, if in fact political socialization is a different process across different social climates, for different political attitudes to be acquired by children in the two different schools.

Table 3.1 A Comparison of Rural-Urban Populations
On The Criterion of Grade

Grade	Population		
	Rural (N=751)	Urban (N=580)	Total (N=1331)
7	14.9%	15.5%	15.2%
8	17.7	13.8	16.2
9	18.8	12.4	15.7
10	17.0	32.2	23.6
11	17.2	17.1	17.1
12	14.4	9.0	12.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3.2 A Comparison of Rural-Urban Populations
On The Criterion of Sex

Sex	Population		
	Rural (N=749)	Urban (N=584)	Total (N=1333)
Female	51.0%	53.6%	52.1%
Male	49.0	46.4	47.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3.3. A Comparison of Rural-Urban Populations
On the Distribution of Sex Across Grades
(N = 1333)

Grade	Rural		Urban	
	Male (N=367)	Female (N=382)	Male (N=271)	Female (N=313)
7	16.9%	12.8%	14.4%	16.3%
8	19.6	15.7	15.1	13.1
9	18.8	17.8	12.5	11.5
10	16.9	17.8	32.5	32.3
11	15.5	18.8	15.8	18.2
12	12.3	17.0	9.6	8.6
Total	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3.4. Sex by Grade Within Total Population
(N = 1333)

Grade	Sex	
	Male (N=638)	Female (N=695)
7	15.8%	14.4%
8	17.7	14.5
9	16.1	15.0
10	23.5	24.3
11	15.7	18.6
12	11.1	13.2
Total	99.9%	100.0%

Table 3.5. A Comparison of Rural-Urban Populations
With Respect to Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation	Population		
	Rural (726)	Urban (579)	Total (1305)
Catholic*	14.5%	96.0%	50.6%
Protestant**	55.3	.2	30.9
Fundamentalist***	14.2	.2	8.0
Other****	4.2	.9	2.8
None	11.7	2.8	7.7
Total	99.9%	100.1%	100.0%

* Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic

** United Church, Anglican, Lutheran, Protestant

*** Christian Reformed, Jehovah Witness, Pentecostal
Fundamentalist

**** Jewish, Baptist, Eastern

Table 3.6. A Comparison of Income Distribution Over Rural-Urban Populations

Income	Population		
	Rural (N=375)	Urban (N=350)	Total (N=725)*
Under \$2000	9.3%	1.1%	5.4%
\$2000-3999	14.4	4.3	9.5
\$4000-5999	22.4	8.9	15.9
\$6000-7999	19.7	22.9	21.2
\$8000-9999	11.5	22.6	16.8
\$10000-14999	13.9	29.1	21.2
\$15,000 +	8.8	11.1	9.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Don't Know (N=629)

t = 9.0875 df = 723 significant at .0005 level

Table 3.7 A Comparison of Rural-Urban Populations With Respect to Father's Occupation

	Population		
	Rural (N=731)	Urban (N=549)	Total (N=1280)
Professional	4.8%	6.0%	5.3%
Business/Managerial	11.6	22.0	16.1
Clerical	2.3	8.0	4.8
Skilled or Semi-Skilled	10.0	33.3	20.0
Unskilled	12.6	26.2	18.4
Farmer	48.4		27.7
Farmer and Other Employment	3.4		2.0
Other (Unemployed, Retired, Deceased)	6.9	4.3	5.8
Total	100.0%	99.8%	100.1%

t = 3.8688 significant for 899 df beyond .0001 level
 If "Farming" as an occupation is excluded, the above t results; if "Farming" as an occupation is included, then t = 5.2043 df = 1278 and this is significant beyond the .0001 level.

Table 3.8 A Comparison of Rural-Urban Populations
With Respect to Mother's Level of Education

Education	Population		
	Rural (N=651)	Urban (N=520)	Total (N=1171)
No School	.2%	.8%	.4%
Grade School	19.7	17.1	18.5
Some High School	51.0	44.6	48.2
Finished High School	18.1	24.8	21.1
Trade School	2.9	3.3	3.1
Normal School	2.6	2.5	2.6
Some University	1.5	3.7	2.5
University Degree	4.0	3.3	3.7
Total	100.0%	100.1%	100.1%

$t = 1.6348$ $df = 1169$ does not reach significance
at the .0005 level.

Table 3.9 A Comparison of Rural-Urban Populations With
Respect to Father's Level of Education

Education	Population		
	Rural (N=638)	Urban (N=497)	Total (N=1135)
No School	1.1%	1.2%	1.1%
Grade School	26.8	18.9	23.3
Some High School	47.0	35.0	41.8
Finished High School	11.8	19.9	15.3
Trade School	6.7	9.3	7.8
Normal School		1.2	.5
Some University	1.7	4.6	3.0
University Degree	4.9	9.9	7.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$t = 6.2684$ $df = 1133$ significant at .0005 level

Chapter 3: Notes

1. The pages of the questionnaire were randomized in order to avoid both any systematic fatigue factor on this long questionnaire, and to ensure at least partial sample responses on all questions (that is, to minimize missing data on any one set of questions).
2. The ideal method of choosing high schools for this study would have been by a procedure of stratified random sampling which would have allowed relative homogeneity of urban and rural groups of students. However, the necessity of obtaining populations of students as quickly as possible, given the lateness of the school year, dictated that the researcher be content to administer questionnaires wherever permission could be obtained to do so. Hence, the only factor governing the choice of schools, other than the decision to obtain both rural and urban schools, was accessibility.
3. "Rural students" are those students in the school in rural Alberta; they include students presently residing on a farm or in a town. "Urban students" include those presently attending one of the two schools in the large city. While the students are thus labelled rural or urban on the basis of the school which they attend, a question ascertaining residence was formulated: "Where have you lived for most of your life?" [] on a farm [] in a town [] in a large city There was a high correspondence between our classification and the respondent's.
4. Easton and Dennis, op.cit., 271.
5. Muller, op.cit., 394.
6. Abelson and O'Neil, op.cit., 304 - 305.
7. $t = 9.0875$ $df = 723$ significant at .0005 level
8. $t = 3.8688$ $df = 899$ significant at .0001 level
9. Mother's Education: $t = 1.6348$ $df = 1169$ does not reach significance at the .0001 level. Father's Education: $t = 6.2684$ $df = 1133$ does reach significance at .0005 level

CHAPTER 4

ADOLESCENT POLITICAL ALIENATION: MEANING AND MEASUREMENT

A. Theoretical Definitions of Political Alienation

Political alienation as a term adapted from sociology has both suffered and benefitted from its origins. While political scientists acquired the term with all the vague and ambiguous trappings which the concept of alienation has for sociologists, they also acquired a concept which already had a fairly sophisticated theoretical basis. Although sociologists utilize the notion in at least two senses -- one, alienation from the self or "self-estrangement"; and two, alienation from others (a group, social system, or society) -- only the second sense has been acknowledged by political scientists as a conceivable political disposition. Usage of the term has revolved around the question of whether political alienation is best conceptualized as a general, uni-dimensional concept, or as a syndrome or multi-dimensional concept. Here, we begin by accepting that as a theoretical construct, political alienation is best regarded as multi-dimensional.¹ The task of giving empirical import to the concept of political alienation is thus eased. In operationalizing one or two dimensions of political alienation, we avoid the dilemma of trying to measure a theoretical construct that is so broad in its referents as to encompass all objects, scopes, and intensities of political alienation.²

One of the most popular conceptualizations of political alienation has been to equate it to feelings of powerlessness in politics. The latter has been explicated as

. . . the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the₃ outcomes, or reinforcements he seeks.

Other researchers contend that unless feelings of political inefficacy are accompanied by displeasure -- some go so far as to say hostility -- one cannot rightly talk about political alienation. Feelings of powerlessness in politics do not result in the individual feeling estranged from the political system if he is complacent in his feelings of ineffectiveness. The citizen who equates political power to holding office, and who accordingly sees himself as powerless by recognizing that his chances of holding office are minuscule, will probably not be alienated from the political system if he feels that his goals and values are being sought by politicians who pursue those same goals. The point is that the individual, even though he feels that his own behavior cannot achieve the goals he seeks, does not perceive his powerlessness as being an unbreachable obstacle to the achievement of those goals, and so is not disenchanted with political authorities. It is important to stress that one must carefully delineate alienation from politics from alienation from the political system. The latter is what is meant here by the term political alienation. If we define "politics"

in the manner of one of the popular definitions of the day, as the process of allocating values for the society, and emphasize the "process" aspect, then it is conceivable that an individual may be alienated from the process as such, believing, for example, that campaign promises are not made to be kept and hence that campaigns are "silly and ridiculous" and still not reject the political system characterized by that politics process. Of course, it is also conceivable that an individual may withdraw from a political system because he rejects the process of politics in that system -- for example, because he views it as mere "tokenism".

It is because he recognized the possibility of the latter phenomenon that Schick argued that the politically alienated individual was the individual who felt deprived as a consequence of his powerlessness.⁴ Powerlessness is not enough; it must be accompanied by resentment. The sense of deprivation springs from the individual's believing that his powerlessness is not right, and that he is "suffering" -- in the sense of not getting his fair share -- as a consequence of his political inefficacy. To quote Schick:

The politically alienated person believes that there is a discrepancy between his perceived relationship to the system and his rightful role Central to my conception of alienation is a sense of deprivation which springs from the disjunction between what man believes his rightful role to be and his inability to fill that role.⁵

One point should be stressed here and it is that the alienated

individual externalizes his resentment of his feelings of powerlessness so that he views his lack of efficacy to be the consequence of the nature of the political system. The political system -- or more specifically, the political authorities -- are perceived to be the source of his powerlessness either because they do not allow him to perform the role that would enable him to be effective in politics or because they are not behaving so that the individual's will is being executed without his having to perform a political role. In either case, the individual feels that his will is not being executed due to political norms being shunted aside. The latter belief has been conceptualized in the literature as perceived political normlessness⁶, cynicism,⁷ and perceived systemic inefficacy.⁸ Regardless of what term one wishes to use, it can be seen that this belief -- political normlessness -- is an important adjunct of political powerlessness.

In addition to the dimension of powerlessness, and the latter belief, political normlessness, other researchers, in examining political alienation as a multi-dimensional concept, have posited dimensions of meaninglessness and isolation. Neither of these dimensions are included in the concept of alienation as it is operationalized here because of the nature of the sample. It was felt that neither dimension would be valid or discriminating for an adolescent population still undergoing political socializa-

tion. One could hardly expect such individuals not to find politics meaningless -- "political decisions . . . as being unpredictable"⁹ -- at least some of the time, and so meaninglessness would be no indicator of alienation. It was felt to be the case because of the researcher's inclination to view political isolation as the end product of extreme despair -- despair that the deviation by political authorities from political norms (political normlessness) was unavoidable and/or uncontrollable. In face of this, the individual rejects what means of approaching political authorities remain to him and withdraws from the political system itself.

To this point we have outlined a theoretical construct of political alienation that embraces the two notions of political powerlessness and perceived political normlessness. It is not thought to be the case that these two attitudes need be empirically interrelated but it is maintained that, as theoretical constructs they are enough alike to be both placed under the rubric of "political alienation".¹⁰ How has the notion of political alienation embodying these two dimensions been measured? A recent publication by Ada Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation", gives one operationalization.¹¹ To measure Political Powerlessness, which she has defined as ". . . an individual's feeling that he cannot affect the actions of the government", Finifter questions the individual as to his ability to understand

important national political issues, his propensity to do something about an unjust regulation and assessment of the efficacy of his efforts (political efficacy), and his evaluation of the effect of the government upon his life.¹²

Feelings of Perceived Political Normlessness are ascertained by questions like whether the activities of the government tend to improve conditions or generally make things worse, and expectations of fair and equal treatment at the hands of governmental officials. Finifter outlines the reasoning for putting forth the latter as an indicator of feelings of perceived political normlessness:

. . . the individual who thinks that he would receive unequal treatment is making this judgment with reference to a state of affairs that he thinks should exist because it is affirmed by the political culture.¹³

One item of Finifter's which did not load significantly on either of the two factors (which she interpreted as the two measures of political powerlessness and perceived political normlessness) is the following: "One sometimes hears that some people or groups have so much influence over the way the government is run that the interests of the majority are ignored. Do you agree or disagree that there are such groups?"¹⁴ It is suggested here that this item aptly taps perceived political normlessness. Its generality may account for its failure to load on either of the two factors. Perhaps by specifying which groups are claimed to have a disproportionate amount of influence, more fruitful

responses would be forthcoming.

In light of the above discussion, particularly that concerning Finifter's treatment of the concept of political alienation, it is assumed for this study that any attempt to measure adolescent feelings of political alienation must proceed upon the following considerations. Firstly, the measure must gauge disaffection from the political system, as distinguished from disenchantment with politics. Because the process of politics -- by which is broadly meant the process of allocating values for the society -- is one defining aspect of the political system, disapproval of that process may well be a source of feelings of alienation from the political system. Nevertheless, disapproval of the political process need only connote disaffection with one aspect of the political system -- what systems analysts and structural-functionalists call the "input" structures of the political system (political parties, interest groups, for example) -- and not towards the system as a whole.¹⁵ In addition, it is felt that because the probability of adolescents having had direct experience with the political process is very low, and because adult cynicism regarding politics may well be a political norm which adolescents consciously or unconsciously assume,¹⁶ disaffection with the politics process would not tap the notion of alienation which this study is investigating. Secondly, political alienation must be carefully distinguished

from political apathy. This is particularly crucial given the nature of the population. A simple distinction is that the apathetic individual is ambivalent or neutral with respect to the political system, whereas the alienated individual holds negative attitudes about objects of the political system. Hence, while both the alienated and the apathetic individuals are estranged from the political system, the alienated individual has a "political self" in a sense that the apathetic individual does not. If the minimal requisite for a person to be described as "political" is that he be aware of some political objects,¹⁷ then the apathetic individual as the individual who ". . . may be aware in a dim sort of way of the existence of a political regime. But his feelings toward it are uncertain . . . and he has not internalized any norms to regulate his relations to it."¹⁸ cannot be described as having a political self. Thirdly, the capacity of the researcher to tap feelings of alienation may be contingent upon his recognizing that alienation feelings may manifest themselves in at least two diverse fashions. The researcher should ask himself if he is interested in alienation feelings which manifest themselves in psychological withdrawal from things political, or whether he is interested in alienation feelings which exist as a potentially volatile force. Is the alienation retreating or rebellious?¹⁹ The different modes of alienation feelings would seem to have different

implications for system stability. How does disaffection expressed as withdrawal differ from disenchantment articulated in fervid and hostile attitudes in its effects for system stability? Does negativism which extends no further than dislike of the personalities and/or policy statements of the incumbents of the political structures lead only to withdrawal which does not pose a threat to the system's maintaining its present character? Can disaffection which is grounded in the belief that political authorities are not pursuing the goals of the individual or of the society at large lead not to withdrawal but to non-supportive behavior which does jeopardize the status quo? Is it the case that ". . . the hostile leave the political field for the non-hostile, politically efficacious"?²⁰ Would other political attitudes have a bearing, as well, upon how disenchantment with authorities expresses itself behaviorally? Any answers to these questions could be nothing more than calculated guesses. However, the possibility of at least one other political attitude affecting the expression of alienation feelings -- their internalization or externalization -- will be examined. How does a belief in the salience of politics inter-relate with alienation feelings to yield what implications for system stability? It is suggested that whether the estranged individual will elect for passivity or non-supportive activity depends somewhat upon his belief in the salience of politics. The concept is that of Moshe Czumnow-

ski.²¹ Individuals who perceive politics in general (or political action) to be salient are those individuals who believe in the efficacy of the political system as a means to the attainment of highly valued goals:

. . . the salience will be lowest when an individual sees no relationship whatsoever between a given political object and his goal-oriented behavior, which is channelled entirely towards non-political objects. And salience will be highest when he expects to attain the goals he values most through the given political objects rather than through non-political action.²²

As Czudnowski points out, salience of politics is a dimension of the political culture of the political system;²³ hence, any given individual's "propensity to address social action to the political system in order to attain highly valued goals" is a function of the extent to which individuals and groups in the nation as a whole orient themselves towards the political system to resolve non-political conflicts and to achieve social-type goals. If the political system or political action is not generally regarded as relevant in the sense of being the appropriate -- perhaps, the best -- vehicle for achieving the goals people hold, then recognition of the political system's ineffectiveness in this respect will not necessarily result in non-supportive behaviors vis-à-vis that system.

To reiterate, the individual who is politically alienated because he believes some aspect of that political system is not right, has two alternatives. He can remain

passive in his alienation so that while his behavior does nothing to strengthen the political system, neither does it jeopardize the stability of that system. Or, he can attempt to alter his role vis-à-vis that political system by trying to rectify that aspect of the system that has led to his disenchantment. If he perceives necessary changes to be only incremental, and is willing to work within legitimate channels to achieve those changes, then his non-supportive behavior will probably not endanger the system's stability. If he feels that extra-systemic (non-institutional) behavior is necessary to effect the requisite changes, then his behavior may well result in system instability. Whether the individual will elect for passivity or activity may well be a function of his belief in the salience of political action.

B. Measuring Political Alienation

In order that the discussion which follows will be as clear as possible, the variables which are investigated here as indicators of political alienation are set forth below:

- Political Powerlessness
- Perceived Political Normlessness
- Dissatisfaction with National Government's
(and Provincial Government's) Outputs
- Dissatisfaction with Perceived Distribution
of Political Influence

In addition to the above set of variables which are treated as dependent variables throughout this study, three other

variables are examined both as dependent and intervening ("explanatory") variables at different points in this study. None is regarded to be an indicator of political alienation. Rather, each is posited to be an intervening variable accounting for political alienation feelings, or, a dependent variable related to political alienation.

These variables are:

Belief in Citizen Duty to Vote
Belief in Citizen Duty to be Interested in
Politics
Belief in the Salience of Politics (Sense of
Relevance of Government)

1. Construction of Political Alienation Measures

It seemed necessary to examine the concept of political alienation in an exploratory manner. The major reason for this has already been given -- the reluctance to believe that the plethora of studies of the political socialization process in the United States are equally applicable to Canadian youth. Also, the very notion of political alienation of youth is a somewhat new idea.

The tactic of adopting an exploratory approach to examining feelings of political alienation meant that negative feelings expressed as distrust of political authorities and/or feelings of dissatisfaction with the latter's behavior would suffice to indicate adolescent political alienation. It meant investigating whether those alienation feelings had their source in feelings of powerlessness accompanied by resentment of that perceived ineffectiveness,

or in the belief that political authorities and/or the government generally was not functioning as it ought to be. It further meant that as much onus as possible would be put upon the students' voluntarily evincing feelings of dissatisfaction with the government. Sentiments towards both the provincial and national levels of government will be gauged, on the premise that a more positive evaluation of the Provincial Government would then suggest some estrangement from the Federal Government.

In order to measure general dissatisfaction with governmental authorities, students were asked the following question, adapted from The Civic Culture study: "On the whole, do you think the activities of the National Government tend to improve the living conditions of Canadians and make their lives more pleasant, or does the National Government tend to make things worse?" The question, which was duplicated with respect to the Provincial Government, offered the student the following response choices: "Provincial Government improves conditions"; "sometimes improves conditions, sometimes not"; "usually makes things worse".²⁴ These two measures of satisfaction with governmental outputs tend to measure specific support, rather than diffuse support; however, it is felt that the phrasing "on the whole" elicits attitudes about the general benevolence of governmental authorities.

Efforts were made to tap the two dimensions of

powerlessness and normlessness defined by Ada Finifter.

A measure of political efficacy was adopted from The American Voter, as one indicator of feelings of powerlessness.²⁵ To measure resentment of one's position of power vis-à-vis governmental authorities, a four-item political cynicism scale was included.²⁶ A third measure was devised by the researcher to indicate both feelings of ineffectiveness and dissatisfaction with the distribution of political influence in the political system. It was hoped that this measure would tap beliefs about the unfair distribution of political resources and/or the unfair responsiveness of governmental officials to groups with valued resources. This would avoid the researcher having to resort to stock phrases like "Big business has too much say", questions which may well be as much factual as evaluative. The student was allowed the initiative to establish what constitutes an unfair amount of influence in political affairs and to judge political groups and actors against this standard he himself had set. This necessitated that the respondent first rate different groups and individuals as to whether they were decision-makers in politics in the sense of having "a say as to how Canada should be run and as to what laws will be passed". The student rated the specified individuals and groups by positing their location within a set of concentric circles, the centre of which represented the location of the important decision-makers

in Canadian politics, and the outer boundary of which symbolized the location of the non-influentials. Having thus assessed the relative influence of each specified actor, the student then judged whether that actor possessed, relative to the other political actors, "too much influence", "too little influence", or the "right amount of influence". Scores of "too much influence" and "too little influence" were interpreted as indicators of dissatisfaction with the perceived distribution of political influence. Students were asked to rate the following groups and individuals as to importance as decision-makers and with respect to having a "fair amount" of influence: The Prime Minister, Big Companies, Farmers, The House of Commons, Your Father, The Cabinet, Rich People, High School Students, The New Democratic Party, The Governor-General, Working People, Labour Unions, The National Liberal Party, The Indian and Metis Association, Yourself, and Businessmen.

The above measure can also be construed as a measure of diffuse support. It is contended that if those individuals who are dissatisfied with the outputs of Government are also disaffected with the power of Governmental officials and institutions which possess sanctioned authority, then not only are those individuals withholding specific support, but diffuse support as well.

Whether the absence of a sense of citizen duty indicates political alienation is disputable. The obliga-

tion to participate may well be a political norm that is so much a part of our political culture as to be analogous to the feelings of loyalty toward one's country that are engrained in children from a very young age. As well, the lack of a sense of obligation to vote, if it taps anything at all, probably measures alienation from the "politics" process rather than from the political system. It may be an astute individual who recognizes the ineffectiveness of his participation qua voting, and so does not feel an obligation to vote, recognizing that there are more effective channels through which to make himself heard. Nevertheless, a two-item measure of citizen duty, adopted from The American Voter study, was included in the questionnaire.²⁷ Why? The rationale was this: for the bulk of the population, the "cheapest" political acts are voting and following the media occasionally (an expression of political interest). Few citizens can or will afford the time or money to partake in what Milbrath calls "transitional" and "gladiatorial" activities, like electioneering, petitioning public officials, and so on.²⁸ Hence, the failure to perceive an obligation to be interested in politics or to vote could conceivably indicate more than the lack of a potentiality to participate. It could also indicate a feeling that politics is not worth one's while.

In order to gauge more directly a belief in the salience of politics in general, students were asked to

assess the relevance of the national and provincial governments. Students were questioned: "How much would you say the actions of the Provincial Government [the National Government] affect the daily lives of you and your family? a great deal? a fair amount? only a little? not at all?"²⁹ The notion of salience of politics is probably more accurately tapped by "behavioral questions" ascertaining the individual's propensity for -- even preference for -- social action directed at the political system to attain his goals. However, such a conceptualization would seem somewhat premature for an adolescent sample, themselves incapable, by and large, of performing political roles of this nature. Hence, while questions regarding the relevance of government may not directly ascertain attitudes regarding the efficacy of political action to achieve the individual's goals, such questions nevertheless indicate whether the individual feels the government is important enough to be contended with. While Ada Finifter included a sense of the relevance of government as one component of political powerlessness, this researcher felt that to claim a perception of the salience of politics as a prerequisite to dissatisfaction with one's inefficacy as a political actor would probably greatly lessen the chances of tapping purely evaluative alienation feelings.

2. The Methodology of Scale Construction

The utility of factor analysis as a technique for exploring patterns of inter-relationships within the data, and hence, reducing the data into a more manageable state, has been well documented.³⁰ It was with these two goals in mind, particularly the hope that factor analysis would reveal patterns of responses that would indicate the basic dimensions of the political alienation measures, that all measures previously utilized as indicators of political alienation were factor-analyzed. This included the following indicators: political cynicism, political efficacy, dissatisfaction with perceived distribution of political influence, satisfaction with governmental output, sense of relevance of government, and citizen duty. (A loading of .400 or greater is accepted as a significant loading. Those factors with three or more significant loadings are regarded as interpretable factors.)

Prior to the factor analysis, scores on the measure, dissatisfaction with perceived influence distribution, were trichotomized according to the following procedure. Each respondent was assigned a "Disaffection" score by summing the weights assigned to his responses on the sixteen individual items. A frequency distribution of the Disaffection scores of the entire sample was obtained. Scores were then trichotomized so that the scores of the highest one-third of the sample were designated as "High Disaffection"; the

scores of the middle third as "Medium Disaffection"; and the scores of the lowest one-third as "Low Disaffection".

Six factors were rotated by the Varimax Solution. The results of this factor analysis indicate that, of the six measures, only items from the political cynicism and political efficacy scales appear to be measuring the same attitudes. All of the following items load on separate factors: the two questions assessing the effect of the national and provincial governments, the two questions assessing favorable attitudes toward national and provincial governments' activities, the two citizen duty items, and the disaffection with perceived influence distribution measure. In keeping with our assumption that each factor can be construed as a separate construct, we concluded, from the preceding factor analysis, that a sense of citizen duty, sense of relevance of government, and disaffection with political influence distribution were all different attitudes. The unrotated factor matrix and the rotated factor matrix of the factor analysis of all hypothesized indicators and related attitudes of political alienation are presented in Table 4.4 in Appendix A.

The failure of the disaffection with influence distribution measure to load on the unrotated factor matrix led to speculation that the responses were probably ideologically confused. Accordingly, a second factor analysis of

the sixteen individual items measuring disaffection with the distribution of political influence, and the political cynicism and political efficacy items was undertaken.

The results of the rotated Varimax Solution, presented in Table 4.5 in Appendix A, indicate at least two things. Firstly, the items tapping a sense of disaffection with the distribution of political influence are, in fact, multi-dimensional, insofar as at least three distinct response patterns emerge. Secondly, the political efficacy and political cynicism items are not ideologically distinct within this sample.

When only the items measuring disaffection with influence distribution were factor analyzed, four distinct factors emerged, three of which intuitively appeared to be each measuring a separate construct. The fourth factor, however, seemed to be a curious component of several disparate concepts. We will return to a discussion of the nature of these factors shortly. The results of this factor analysis are presented in Table 4.6 in Appendix A.

As well, the four political cynicism and four political efficacy items were conjointly factor-analyzed. The two factors which emerged are presented in Table 4.7 in Appendix A. One of these factors appeared to have a great deal of face validity. The other factor seemed to be tapping two different attitudes. These two factors will be examined in greater detail shortly.

All the preceding analyses were performed with no heed to missing data. Because the particular factor analysis program used could not cope with missing responses, missing data had been deleted "pairwise" which meant including a case in the computations for which it had complete data. However, there was a large number of incomplete responses on several of the questions, causing the researcher to become alarmed about the effect the missing data was having on the inter-relationships of the variables. The concern arose from Rummel's warning about the phenomenon of "imaginary variance".³¹ Rummel argues that if the factors extracted are confined to those with positive eigenvalues, the effect of missing data is to inflate the positive variance so that the loadings on the positive factors are larger than they should be. "Those variables with the most missing data appear to have the most inflated loadings and communalities."³² Rummel suggests a number of methods for handling missing data, one of which is to estimate the missing values by taking the average value for a variable and assigning that value to missing scores. However, estimation via averages results in a lowering of the inter-correlations of the variables, and accordingly an under-estimation of the true values and a deflation of the positive variance. When the variables are factor analyzed, "[t]he effect on the factors extracted will be to attenuate their loadings and, moreover, the analysis may stop short of

identifying all the meaningful factors existing in the data."³³ Accordingly, Rummel recommends that the average value estimation technique be used in conjunction with regression analysis or factor analysis, either of which would result in a convergence of the estimates to a stable value.³⁴

In order to ensure that the missing data estimates do not yield factors which are structurally different, some control analysis is necessary. A comparison of the factor structures of the data matrix arrived at from the analysis of the sample which includes cases with missing data or the data matrix produced from only the sample with completed responses on all the variables, and the matrix yielded by estimated missing data is one method of control analysis. Similarity of factor identity should give the researcher confidence in his estimations.

In keeping with Rummel's cautions about missing data and his suggestions for coping with the problem, estimations of the missing values for political cynicism, political efficacy, and disaffection with perceived influence distribution variables were made.³⁵ The modal response on each individual cynicism or efficacy item was substituted for the missing values. The responses of the entire sample, now complete for all these items, were factor-analyzed. The factor matrix of the new data matrix was compared to the factor matrix of the data matrix which resulted from a list-

wise deletion of missing data and the matrix which resulted from a pairwise deletion of missing data. (With pairwise deletion, inter-correlations are based only on the population which has no missing responses on any of the variables which are being inter-related.) As presented in Table 4.7 in Appendix A, the factor matrix based upon the population with estimated values substituted for missing data did not differ appreciably from the other two matrices.

The factor matrix which resulted from the data matrix based upon modal estimates of the missing values on the disaffection with perceived influence distribution items did differ significantly from the matrices based upon both listwise and pairwise deletion of missing data.

Rummel recommends factor analysis or regression of the estimated values to effect their stabilization. Rather than attempt either of these cumbersome procedures, some other technique which would counteract the "variance deflating effect" of the estimation procedure was sought. The technique seized upon was the Method of Reciprocal Averages. This is a scaling technique which maximizes the internal consistency of a measure by deriving a set of weights for the item response categories which maximizes the ratio of the variance between people to the total variance.³⁶ Frank Baker briefly describes the procedure:

The Method of Reciprocal Averages is an iterative procedure in which an a priori set of item response weights is used to obtain a score for each subject, then the

scores and the item response choices are used to derive a new set of item response weights. The derived weights are used to obtain a new score for each individual and the iterative process is continued until two successive sets of item response weights do not differ. The final set of item response weights will be those which maximize the internal consistency index of reliability for the group of subjects for the given instrument.³⁷

Because the re-weighting procedure minimizes the relative variance of item scores within a single case, and maximizes variance of scores across cases, the correlation between each item and the total score is maximized. As well, items which are undifferentiating in the sense of not discriminating between the person who answers like items in a similar manner and the person who answers them in an opposite manner, are omitted from the final scale. Hence, the resulting scale should be highly reliable.³⁸

The Method of Reciprocal Averages was applied to the two factor matrices obtained from the factor analysis of the efficacy and cynicism items. (The matrices were based on the responses of the entire sample which contained estimates of missing values.) Each separate factor was treated as a separate scale, and the variables were reweighted; the new response scores then formed a reliable scale.

The three factor matrices of the Disaffection with perceived distribution of influence items, obtained from the factor analysis based upon only the sample which responded to all the sixteen items, were the matrices

utilized in the Reciprocal Averages Scaling Method. After the scores were re-weighted, the modal value (now itself re-weighted) became the estimate for the missing scores on the individual items.

Let us now turn to an examination of the two factors which emerged from the factor analysis of the political efficacy and political cynicism items jointly. The items and their loadings are presented in Table 4.1 and Table 4.2, respectively.

Table 4.1

SUMMARY OF FACTOR 1 DERIVED FROM VARIMAX ROTATION OF 4 POLITICAL CYNICISM AND 4 POLITICAL EFFICACY ITEMS

Loading	Item
.558	Politicians spend most of their time getting re-elected or re-appointed.
.430	Voting is the only way that people like me and my family can have any say about how the government runs things.
.677	Canadian politics is really controlled by a small group of powerful politicians who pretty much do what they want.
.631	People like me and my parents don't have any say about what the government does.
.636	I don't think public officials care much about what people like me and my family think.

Items in Factor 1 appear to be measuring attitudes of political ineffectiveness/political powerlessness, as well as attitudes of governmental non-responsiveness. The factor is composed of what were originally postulated as three political efficacy items and two political cynicism

items. It was decided to label the factor, "Political Inefficacy".

Table 4.2

SUMMARY OF FACTOR 2 DERIVED FROM VARIMAX ROTATION OF 4 POLITICAL CYNICISM AND 4 POLITICAL EFFICACY ITEMS

Loading	Item
.527	Most people who like to "play politics" are just trying to promote their own interests.
.441	Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.
.843	No matter who is elected to run the Government, there's still going to be a lot of corruption involved.

The second factor, composed of two political cynicism items and one political efficacy item, appears to be measuring both political cynicism and political meaninglessness ("... a person like me can't really understand what's going on.") Hence, its utility as a unidimensional measure of political cynicism or political meaninglessness is cast in doubt. Confronted with the choice of dropping the measure or retaining it for subsequent analyses, the researcher opted for the latter. However, the measure, called "Political Cynicism", failed to relate either to other indicators of political alienation feelings or to other political attitudes and it was eventually dropped as a useful indicator of feelings of political alienation.

When scalogram analysis proved ineffective when

applied to these two factors, the method of summated ratings was used to construct measures.³⁹ A frequency distribution of both Political Inefficacy and Political Cynicism scores for the entire sample was obtained. Scores were then trichotomized to yield a group High in Political Inefficacy (and High in Political Cynicism), Medium in Political Inefficacy (Medium in Political Cynicism), and Low in Inefficacy (Low in Political Cynicism).

As Table 4.3 indicates, four factors were extracted from the analysis of the items purported to be measuring satisfaction with the perceived distribution of political influence. Table 4.3 gives the items which loaded significantly on each factor and their loadings.

Table 4.3

SUMMARY OF THE 4 FACTORS WHICH EMERGED FROM VARIMAX ROTATION OF 16 ITEMS MEASURING DISAFFECTION WITH PERCEIVED INFLUENCE DISTRIBUTION IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Loading	Item
Factor 1	
.524	Prime Minister
.690	House of Commons
.716	The Cabinet
.694	The New Democratic Party
.588	The Governor-General
.672	The Liberal Party
Factor 2	
.682	Your Father
.654	High School Students
.778	Yourself
.340	Working Class People
Factor 3	
.755	Big Companies
.659	Rich People

.499	Labour Unions
.479	Businessmen
Factor 4	
.755	Farmers
.566	Working People
.454	Indian and Metis Association

The structure of the factors is interesting. While there appear to be limitations to the child's capacity to discriminate among political organizations (both Governmental and extra-Governmental -- including informal political groups), on the criterion of power, the adolescent studied here is able to distinguish Governmental structures (institutions) from non-governmental bodies (labour unions, for example).

With regard to Factor 1, the loading of "NDP" on the same factor as the Governmental institutions of "Prime Minister", "House of Commons", "Cabinet", and "Governor-General", and the "Liberal Party" (which, as presently the majority party in the House of Commons can be construed as a Governmental institution), suggests that the adolescent is not viewing these organizations with respect to their power as governing organizations, but rather is simply regarding them as Governmental institutions -- that is, as political bodies which are an immediate part of the Governmental structure.

The second Factor is comprised of these concepts: "Yourself", "Your Father", "High School Students", and

"Working Class". This Factor appears to be measuring the respondent's attitudes about his own political influence. We suggest that the child perceives his father's political influence and the influence of his peer group as being quantitatively similar. The nature of the population, largely lower-middle and working class probably accounts for the loading of "Working Class" on this same Factor.

Factor 3 is also interesting. "Big Companies", "Rich People", and "Businessmen" are all concepts which can probably be summarized simply by "Big Business". However, "Labour Unions" would be a misfit on this Factor (insofar as the power positions of labour unions would not seem to be comparable to that of Big Business and Rich People) unless we interpret the Factor as summarizing attitudes about the influence of "Big Organizations" in governmental affairs.

Is Factor 4 a residual factor or a factor measuring attitudes about "deprived groups"? Insofar as both suggestions seem equally plausible, the researcher decided not to interpret this factor as a theoretical construct, and hence, not as a useful attitudinal measure simply because the interest here was not with the individual's evaluation of the alienation of "outgroups", but rather with the student's perception of his own alienation.

How to label the Factors? The concepts in Factors

1, 2, and 3 seem to be "Governmental", "Self", and "Big Organizations", respectively. Accordingly, a measure of "Disaffection with Governmental Power" was constructed by summing responses of "too much influence" on the concepts of "Prime Minister", "Cabinet", "House of Commons", "Governor General", "Liberal Party", and "New Democratic Party". Once a frequency distribution of the "Disaffection with Governmental Power" scores of the entire sample was obtained, scores were trichotomized to yield respondents Highly Disaffected with Governmental Power, Moderately Disaffected, and Lowly Disaffected.

This same procedure was followed with respect to attitudes toward Big Organizations. The one-third of the sample who scored highest on the measure was designated as Highly Dissatisfied with the Influence of Big Organizations; the middle one-third, as Moderately Dissatisfied, and the lowest one-third, as Lowly Dissatisfied.

To obtain a measure of "Satisfaction with Own Political Influence", responses of "right amount of influence" were summed. Again, the sample distribution of scores was trichotomized.

Sense of Relevance of Government

The two questions which separately ascertained attitudes regarding the relevance of the national and provincial governments loaded highly on a single factor and were strongly inter-related.⁴⁰ However, because one

way of measuring feelings of political alienation is by comparing attitudes towards the provincial and national governments, the two items were not combined to form a single measure of sense of relevance of government, but were treated as two separate variables. Frequency distributions of these two items showed that there was not necessarily continuity of response across the two items.

Satisfaction with Governmental Output

The two items ascertaining attitudes as to whether the activities of the national and provincial governments tend to improve living conditions or make things worse inter-related highly.⁴¹ Here again, because it is the variance in response across the two items rather than satisfaction with governmental output generally which we are interested in, the two items were left as two separate measures. There did not appear to be a great deal of variance in the sample's responses to these two questions, and the variance of response across the two items appeared to be greater than the intra-item variance.

Sense of Citizen Duty

The frequency distributions of the two citizen duty items gave reason to believe that the two items were being responded to differently.⁴² An index of the two items correlated with "belief in citizen duty to be interested in politics and community affairs" much less highly than with

"belief in citizen duty to vote in every election", and gave reason to believe that the index really represented responses to the second item.⁴³ The two citizen duty items were not very highly inter-related.⁴⁴ Hence, while both the index and the two individual items were employed initially, in subsequent analyses the index was dropped and only the results of analyses with the two individual measures will be reported.

The following variables will then be employed in subsequent analyses:

- Political Inefficacy
- Political Cynicism
- Disaffection with Governmental Authorities
- Dissatisfaction with Influence of Big Organizations
- Satisfaction with Personal Influence
- Satisfaction with Provincial Government's Outputs
- Satisfaction with National Government's Outputs
- Sense of Relevance of Provincial Government
- Sense of Relevance of National Government
- Sense of Citizen Duty to be Interested in Politics
- Sense of Citizen Duty to Vote

Chapter 4: Notes

1. Joel Aberbach, "Alienation and Political Behavior", American Political Science Review, 63 (March, 1969), 86 - 99. Aberbach demonstrated, via the technique of factor analysis, the multi-dimensionality of several different measures of alienation, including indicators of political alienation.
2. Allen Schick, "Alienation and Politics". Paper delivered at the 1964 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Chicago, 1964.
3. Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation", American Sociological Review, 24, 6(December, 1959), 783.
4. Schick, op.cit., 12.
5. John P. Clarke, "Measuring Alienation Within a Social System", American Sociological Review, 24(1959), 849 - 852. Clarke also picks up this notion of estrangement as the consequence of a "discrepancy between the power man believes he has and what he should have."
6. Ada Finifter, op.cit., 395 - 397.
7. Martin Levin and Murray Eden, "Political Strategy for the Alienated Voter", Public Opinion Quarterly, 26, 1(Spring, 1962), 47 - 63.
8. David C. Schwartz, "Urban Political Alienation: Ethnic Differences and Violent Consequences". Paper presented at APSA Meetings. New York, September, 1969.
9. Finifter, op.cit., 390.
10. Ibid., 397.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., 395.
14. Ibid., 390 - 391.
15. Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Comparative Politics: a Developmental Approach (Boston, 1966), 25 - 27.
16. Schick, op.cit., 9.
17. Dawson and Prewitt, op.cit., 19.
18. Almond and Verba, op.cit., 17ff, discuss this "parochial orientation" to politics.
19. William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity", American Sociological Review, 29(April, 1964), 198 - 215.

20. Edward S. Greenberg, "Children and Government: A Comparison Across Racial Lines", Midwest Journal of Political Science, 14, 2(May, 1970), 249.
21. Moshe Czudnowski, "A Salience Dimension of Politics for the Study of Political Culture", American Political Science Review, 62, 3(Sept., 1968), 878 - 888.
22. Ibid., 882.
23. Ibid., 884.
24. Almond and Verba, op.cit., 46 - 48.
25. The following four items comprise the political efficacy measure:
 - a) Voting is the only way that people like me and my family can have any say about how the government runs things.
 - b) People like me and my parents don't have any say about what the government does.
 - c) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.
 - d) I don't think public officials care much about what people like me and my family think.
26. The following four items comprise the political cynicism scale:
 - a) Politicians spend most of their time getting re-elected or re-appointed.
 - b) Canadian politics is really controlled by a small group of powerful politicians who pretty much do what they want.
 - c) No matter who is elected to run the Government, there's still going to be a lot of corruption involved.
 - d) Most people who like to "play politics" are just trying to promote their own interests.

These four items are from a scale which Professor J.P. Johnston and Conde Grondin of the University of Alberta adapted from the Agger et al Cynicism Scale: R.E. Agger, M.N. Goldstein, and S.A. Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning", The Journal of Politics, 23, 3(1961), 477 - 506.
27.
 - a) Every citizen has a duty to be interested in politics and community affairs.
 - b) It is a citizen's duty to vote in every election, even if it means losing work or some other hardship.

Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, W.E. Miller, and D.E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York, 1960).
28. Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago, 1965), 18.

29. Almond and Verba, op.cit., 47.
30. R. J. Rummel, Applied Factor Analysis (Evanston, 1970), 29.
31. Ibid., 258 - 267.
32. Ibid., 261.
33. Ibid., 263.
34. Ibid., 264.
35. The variables of citizen duty, sense of relevance of government, and satisfaction with governmental output were not nearly as replete with missing data and hence estimates based upon modal responses were considered adequate.
36. Frank B. Baker, "Quantifying Qualitative Variables by the Method of Reciprocal Averages". Occasional Paper No. 7. Department of Educational Psychology, University of Wisconsin, 2.
37. Ibid., 4.
38. The theory of reliability is explicated by Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York, 1964), 429 - 443.
39. Allen Edwards, Techniques of Attitude and Scale Construction (New York, 1957), Chapters 7 and 9; 149 - 169.
40. Gamma: .7630 χ^2 significant beyond .0001 level.
41. Gamma: .6521 χ^2 significant beyond .0001 level.

Frequency Distributions

	Duty to be Politically Interested	Duty to Vote
Agree strongly	43%	20%
Agree somewhat	33	20
Neither agree or disagree	12	15
Disagree somewhat	7	23
Disagree strongly	3	21

42. Citizen Duty Index by Duty to be Politically Interested: Gamma = .685 χ^2 significant beyond .0001 level.
Citizen Duty Index by Duty to Vote: Gamma = .917 χ^2 significant beyond .0001 level.
43. Duty to Vote by Duty to be Politically Interested: Pearson Correlation .2862 significant beyond .001 level.

CHAPTER 5

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL ALIENATION FEELINGS WITHIN THE SAMPLE

Scores have been trichotomized on all measures so as to create groups high, medium, and low on the different variables. This "creating" of variance in response is necessary for purposes of statistical analysis. However, it is felt that a discussion of the distribution of scores across these measures is necessary to provide a description of the attitudes within the sample as a whole, and, as well, to put these "artifactual" scores in perspective. Within this adolescent sample, how frequent are feelings of political alienation, as operationalized in this research?

Political Inefficacy

While the bulk of the adolescents characterize themselves as moderately politically efficacious, more adolescents within this population describe themselves as highly politically efficacious. Almost one-third of the sample (31%) can be described as highly politically inefficacious, while only 12% are highly efficacious.¹ Figure 5.1 presents diagrammatically the skewed nature of the sample's responses.

Political Cynicism

The sample as a whole tends to be somewhat more cynical than not. This tendency is most apparent at the extremes of the continuum; slightly more than two-fifths

of the sample can be labelled "highly" politically cynical; 4%, slightly politically cynical.² Figure 5.2 gives a presentation of the skewed nature of the sample's distribution of cynicism scores.

Disaffection with Institutionalized Governmental Power

The adolescents sampled here disproportionately believe that governmental institutions do not have too much power. Almost three-quarters of the sample (72%) thought that no more than two of the six governmental institutions had too much power; less than one-third (30%) thought that three or more of these institutions were too powerful. The frequency distribution of the sample's responses is given in Figure 5.3.

Disaffection with the Influence of Big Organizations

Attitudes towards the influence of big organizations in governmental affairs tend to duplicate fairly closely those towards the power of institutionalized political authorities. As Figure 5.4 indicates, the sample is by and large not dissatisfied with the role of big organizations in governmental affairs.³

Satisfaction with Personal Influence

While the adolescents sampled here are more satisfied than not with the influential position of people like them and themselves, that satisfaction is in no way equivalent to their satisfaction with the influential position of the

Figure 5.1

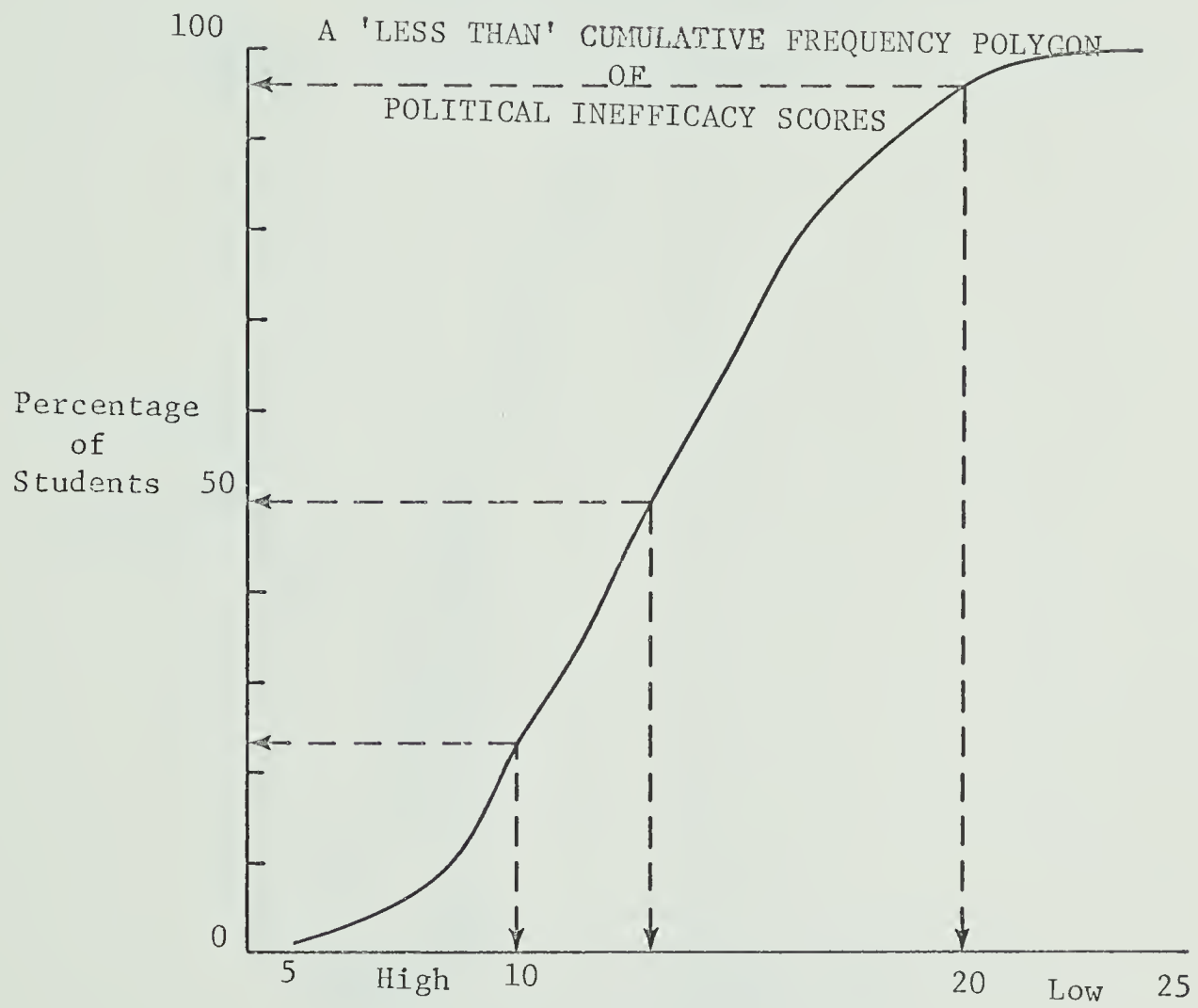


Figure 5.2

A 'LESS THAN' CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY POLYGON
OF POLITICAL CYNICISM SCORES

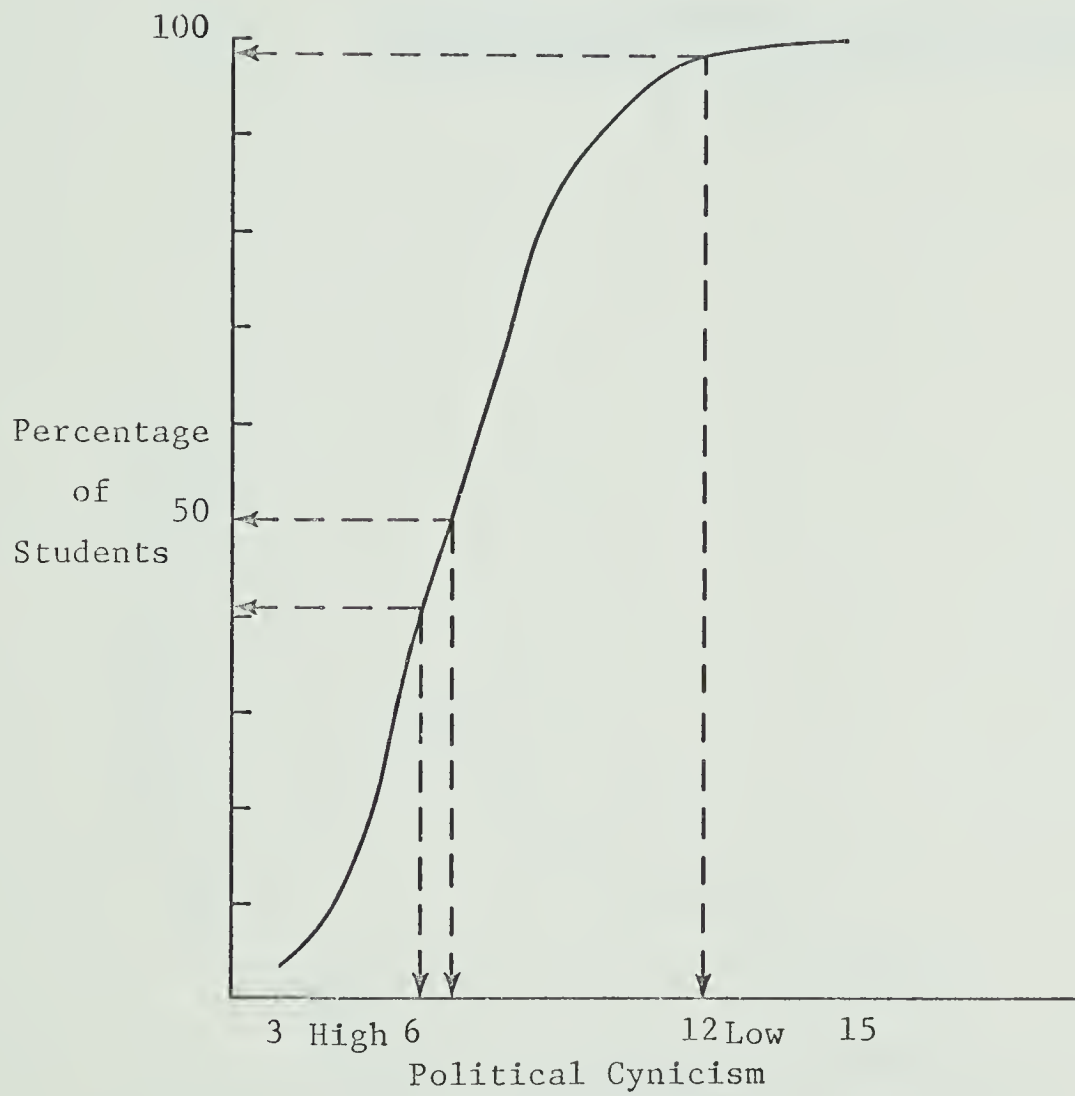


Figure 5.3

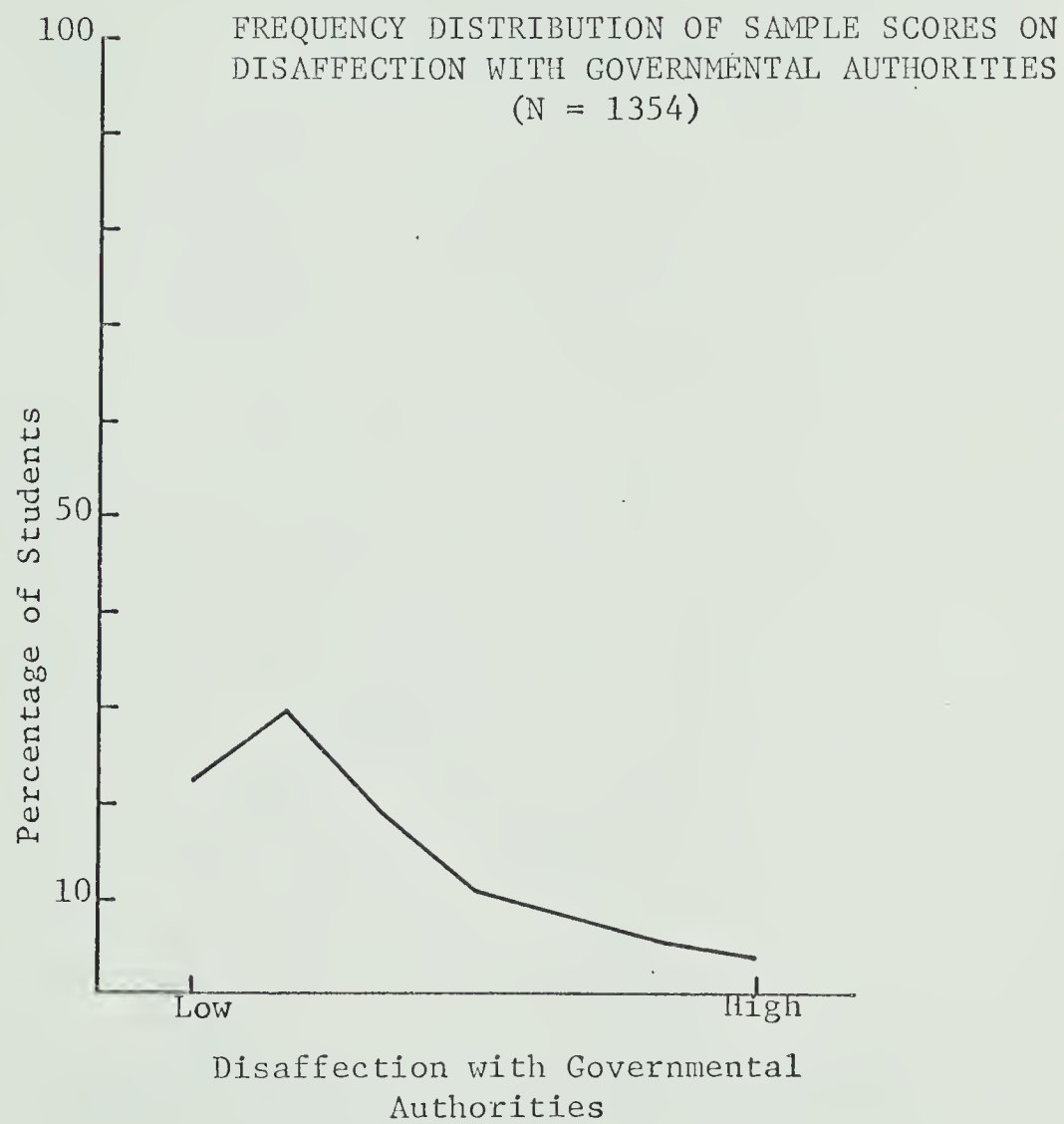
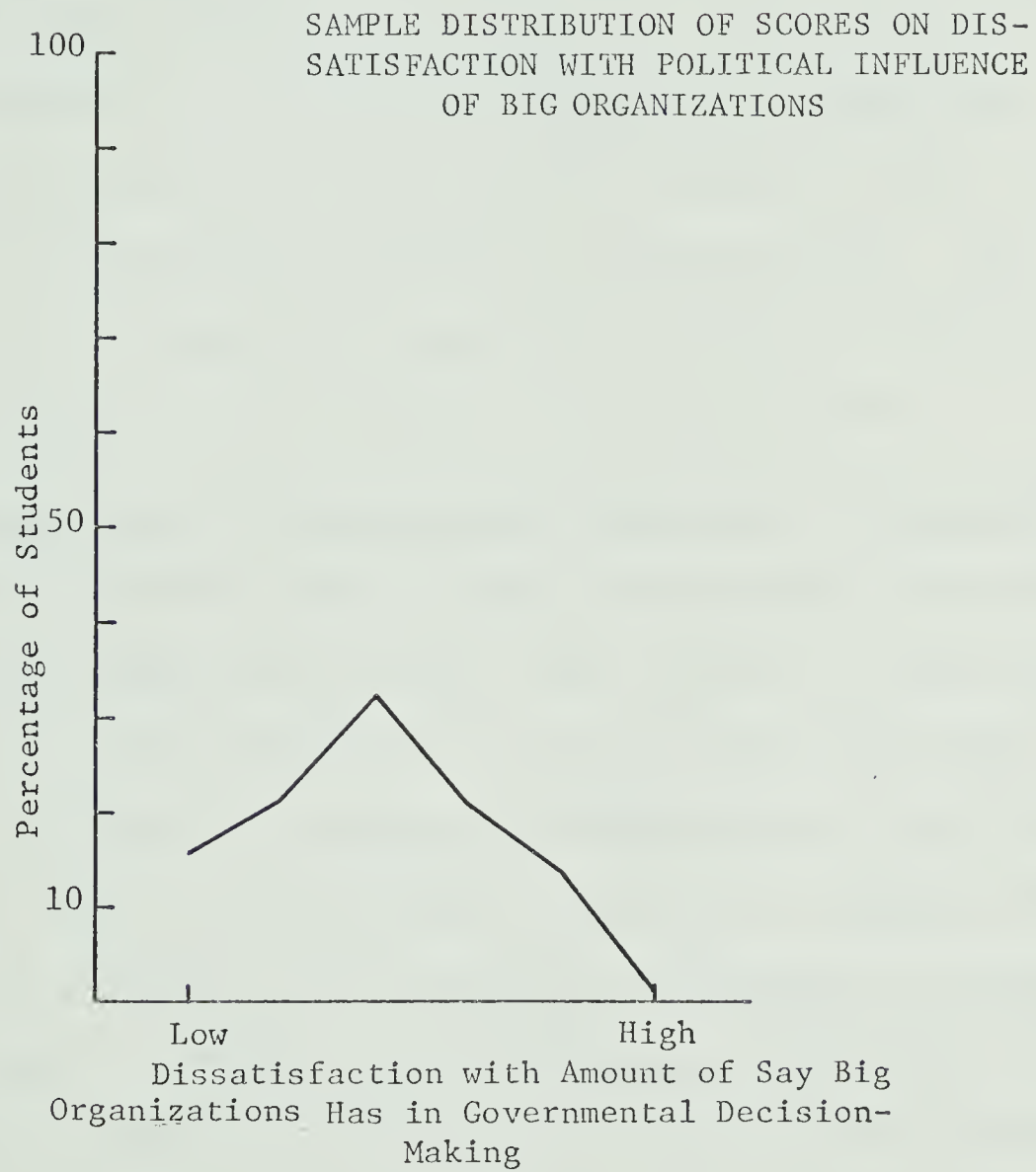


Figure 5.4



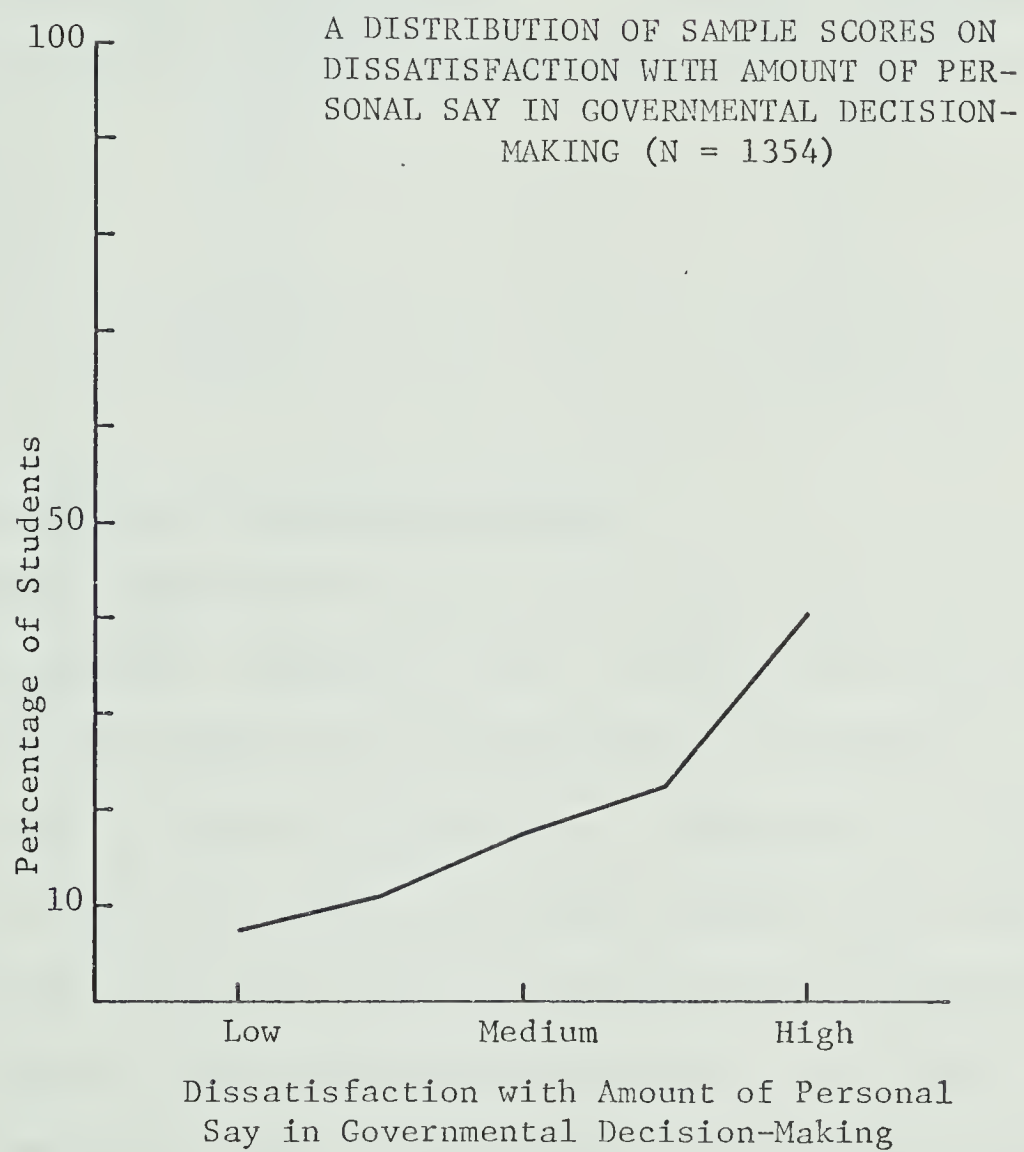
institutionalized authorities and Big Organizations.

As can be discerned from Figure 5.5, slightly over one-third (36%) of the sample is somewhat to very dissatisfied with the amount of say that they and people like them have in governmental affairs; on the other hand, just less than two-thirds (64%) express fairly high or high satisfaction with their position vis-a-vis influential decision-makers. The fairly equal proportions expressing dissatisfaction with perceived personal influence and feelings of political inefficacy indicates a continuity of response across the two measures of feelings of political ineffectiveness, and satisfaction with perceived personal political influence, giving confidence in the validity of the responses.

Sense of Relevance of National and Provincial Governments

The sample as a whole disproportionately views both levels of government as having a fair amount or great deal of effect upon daily affairs, as can be seen from Table 5.1. There is a tendency to assign more importance to the Provincial rather than to the National Government; roughly 70% of the students describe the Provincial Government as having "a great deal" or "fair amount" of effect upon daily affairs as compared to 59% who describe the effect of the National Government in the same manner. There is a strong correspondence between perceptions of the effect of the two levels of government among those who visualize both as having "only a little" or "no effect at all". Among those who ranked

Figure 5.5



both levels of government as having a "great deal" or "fair amount" of effect, but did not rank the two levels identically, there was a tendency to rank the effect of the National Government lower.

Table 5.1 SAMPLE SCORES ON RELEVANCE OF
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

	Sense of Relevance of Provincial Government (N = 1354)	Sense of Relevance of National Government (N = 1299)
Great Deal	23.2%	18.6%
Fair Amount	46.8	40.4
Only a Little	23.4	31.9
Not at All	6.6	9.1
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Satisfaction with Governmental Output

Roughly three-quarters of the sample opted for the "sometimes improves, sometimes not" response when queried as to whether the National and Provincial Governments generally tend to improve conditions. Reference to Table 5.2 reveals that the sample as a whole tends to be more satisfied with the activities of the Provincial Government than with those of the National Government. A higher proportion believes that the Provincial Government always improves conditions than believes that the National Government always does (19% versus 8%); conversely, a higher proportion thinks the National Government makes things worse than feels the Provincial Government does (13% versus 6%).

Table 5.2 SAMPLE SCORES ON SATISFACTION WITH
NATIONAL GOVERNMENTAL OUTPUT AND PROVINCIAL
GOVERNMENTAL OUTPUT

Satisfaction with Provin- cial Government's Outputs (N = 1333)		Satisfaction with Nat'l. Gov't's (N = 1333)
Improves Conditions	18.9%	8.4%
Sometimes Improves	74.9	78.2
Makes Things Worse	6.2	13.4
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Sense of Citizen Duty

Perception of a citizen duty to be "interested in politics and community affairs" does not necessarily occur alongside a belief in a citizen duty "to vote in every election, even if it means losing work or some other hardship". Whereas fully three-quarters of the students agree either somewhat or strongly that political interest is a duty of every citizen, only two-fifths of the students agree that voting is a citizen obligation. See Table 3.5. That is, the over-all sentiment is that the citizen has a duty to be interested in politics, but not to vote. It is speculated that responses to the question of voting as a citizen obligation were affected by the unconditional phrase, "even if it means losing work or some other hardship". The disparity of responses across the two items is interesting, suggesting perhaps a wishy-washy sense of citizen duty. Is it the case that adolescents believe that one

should perform citizenship duties, like voting, providing only that such duties do not inconvenience one? Or do adolescents not perceive a duty to vote because they regard voting as an ineffectual political act? And are those individuals the same students who are politically cynical?

Table 5.3 SAMPLE SCORES ON CITIZEN DUTY ITEMS

	Duty to be interested in politics (N=1284)	Duty to vote (N = 1260)
Agree strongly	42.9%	20.4%
Agree somewhat	34.4	20.2
Neither agree nor disagree	12.6	14.8
Disagree somewhat	7.1	23.8
Disagree strongly	3.0	20.7
Total	100.0%	99.9%

What do these general trends indicate about adolescent attitudes toward governmental authorities? Firstly, adolescents sampled here appear to orient themselves towards governmental authorities in a somewhat different manner than do American adolescents. The above discussion has suggested that a surprisingly high frequency of Western Canadian adolescents feel politically inefficacious and are politically cynical. The frequency of these two attitudes within the population appears to be greater than that documented for comparable American populations. About four-fifths of two separate samples of American students have been described as moderately or highly politically efficacious, and having

a moderately to highly positive view of the trustworthiness of National Governmental officials.⁴ Secondly, the failure to regard voting as a criterion of good citizenship suggests a second difference between this population and United States students who have been studied. Students in a midwestern high school in the United States overwhelmingly regarded voting as an important means of political expression.⁵ Another study, which solicited students' attitudes about the meaning of a good citizen, showed that from three-fifths to seven-tenths of American high school students volunteered loyalty and political participation as being the characteristics of good citizenship.⁶ Thirdly, neither level of government is perceived to be highly benevolent. Faith in the Government's tendency to improve conditions is guarded -- with fully three-quarters of the students opting for the response that the Provincial and National Governments "sometimes improve conditions, sometimes not". And fourthly, indications that not only is the Provincial Government evaluated somewhat more kindly than is the National Government, but is perceived, as well, to have a greater bearing upon one's life, suggesting an orientation towards the National (Federal) Government. If this is indeed the case, then we have here yet another difference between this sample and American students, of whom Easton and Dennis have said:

. . . if we had to choose among the structural levels at which the child is initially likely to become most thoroughly immersed in politics -

. . . we would point to the national sphere.⁷

B. Inter-relationships Among Political Attitudes

Are the different measures which have been each posited to be an indicator of feelings of political alienation related to one another? Are individuals who feel politically inefficacious dissatisfied with governmental policy outputs, for instance? If they are, is the object of their feelings of political ineffectiveness the National Government or the Provincial Government, or are these feelings of powerlessness directed towards both levels of government?

Table 5.4 outlines the pattern of inter-relationships among the different measures of attitudes towards the National and Provincial Governments, and government generally. Because we originally stressed that a sense of relevance of the government, as an indicator of a belief in the salience of politics, would not be regarded as one component of political alienation feelings, the relationship of this variable to the political alienation variables will be investigated separately. Table 5.5 outlines the pattern of these relationships.

As presented in Table 5.4, the following variables and patterns of relationship occur.

Firstly, politically inefficacious adolescents are more politically cynical, more inclined to believe that the

TABLE 5.4 STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP (GAMMA) AMONG POLITICAL ALIENATION MEASURES (N = 1354)
 (All relationships are significant for the chi square statistic at the .0001 level, unless otherwise specified.)

1	1.000	.4269	-.2116	-.3709	—	—	.3385	—	.1414*
2	—	1.000	—	—	—	-.0676	.1807	—	—
3	—	—	1.000	.6514	.2336	—	.3729	—	.1532**
4	—	—	—	1.000	.2590	—	.2580	—	—
5	—	—	—	—	1.000	.2861	—	—	—
6	—	—	—	—	—	1.000	—	—	—
7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.000	—	—
8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.000	—
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.000

* significant at .002 level

** significant at .001 level

*** significant at .005 level

Provincial and National Governments tend to make things worse, and to feel that institutionalized authorities (The Prime Minister, the Cabinet, the House of Commons, and so on) are too influential in decision-making, than are politically efficacious adolescents. As well, there is a slight tendency for inefficacious students to be dissatisfied with the amount of influence they perceive themselves and others like them to have.

Secondly, dissatisfaction with the activities of the National Government is more strongly related to feelings of political ineffectiveness than is dissatisfaction with the activities of the Provincial Government.

Students with high political inefficacy feelings are neither more nor less inclined to perceive a duty to be interested in politics and community affairs or a duty to vote than individuals low in feelings of political inefficacy. However, individuals who believe that the Provincial and National Governments tend to improve conditions are more inclined than those who feel the National and Provincial Governments tend to make things worse to perceive a duty to be interested in politics and community affairs, but not to vote.

Fourthly, adolescents who are satisfied with the activities of both levels of government tend to be less disaffected with the decision-making power of the institutionalized authorities (The Prime Minister, Governor-

General, Liberal Party), than are adolescents who believe both levels of government tend to make things worse. This relationship is stronger with respect to satisfaction with Provincial Government activities than with respect to National Government activities.

Fifthly, political cynicism relates only weakly to belief in a duty to vote. (Low feelings of political cynicism occur alongside the belief in a duty to vote.), and to disaffection with the authority of governmental structures and dissatisfaction with perceived personal influence in political decision-making. The relationships are rather weak. Individuals who are politically cynical are neither more nor less inclined to be satisfied with the policy outputs of the National and Provincial Governments than are individuals who are not politically cynical.

The general tendency for political cynicism to relate only weakly or not at all to other measures of political alienation led to its elimination from subsequent analyses.

Sixthly, the measure of a sense of dissatisfaction with perceived political influence of self and people like self proved to be an even poorer discriminator than the political cynicism measure. It was thus also dropped from future analyses.

Seventhly, individuals who are satisfied with their influential position and the position of people like them tend to approve of the powerful position of the Prime

Minister, Cabinet et al. However, they are neither more nor less inclined than individuals dissatisfied with their role in political decision-making to be satisfied with governmental policy outcomes or to regard voting and interest in political and community affairs to be the duties of good citizens.

And, as has already been noted, those who are satisfied with the activities of the National Government are satisfied with the outcomes of the Provincial Government as well.

Turning to Table 5.5, we note the following patterns emerging. Firstly, individuals who regard both the National and Provincial Governments as having a great deal or some effect upon their daily lives tend to be more satisfied with the activities of both levels of government.⁸ Conversely, students who feel that both governments have little or no effect tend to believe that both make things worse, rather than better. The differences in satisfaction with Provincial and National Governments' activities are more pronounced between those who believe that the Provincial Government affects our daily lives and those who believe it does not, than between those who believe that the National Government has a significant impact upon one's daily affairs and those who believe that it does not.

Secondly, a belief in the relevance of the Provincial Government is more strongly related to satisfaction

TABLE 5.5
STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP (GAMMA) BETWEEN
POLITICAL ALIENATION MEASURES AND SENSE
OF RELEVANCE OF NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL
GOVERNMENTS
(N=1354)

	Sense of Relevance of Prov. Government	Sense of Relevance of National Gov't.
Political Inefficacy	-.0968*	_____
Political Cynicism	_____	_____
Satisfaction with Prov.Gov't.	.3501	.1383
Satisfaction with Nat'l. Gov't.	.2636	.1671
Duty to be politi- cally interested	.2411	.2550
Duty to vote	.1264	.1459
Disaffection with Governmental Author- ities	_____	_____
Dissatisfaction with Influence of Big Organizations	_____	.1169
Satisfaction with Personal Influence	_____	_____

All relationships are significant for χ^2 beyond .0001 level,
except * which is significant at .0005 level.

with both the activities of the Provincial and National Governments than is a belief in the relevance of the National Government.

Thirdly, feelings of political inefficacy are only weakly related to the belief that the Provincial Government has little or no effect upon daily affairs and not at all to the belief in the irrelevance of the National Government's activities.

Fourthly, belief in a citizen obligation to be interested in politics and to vote are both significantly positively related to a perception of the activities of the National and Provincial Governments as having a great deal of effect. The relationships are stronger with respect to the National Government; and the differences greater between those who believe in a duty to be interested in politics and those who do not, than between those who believe the citizen has an obligation to vote and those who do not.

Fifthly, none of feelings of political cynicism, disaffection with governmental authority, or satisfaction with one's personal role in decision-making are affected by, or affect one's belief in the impact upon daily affairs of either level of government. Those students who believe that Big Organizations have too much influence in Governmental decision-making tend to perceive the National Government as having less of an effect upon daily matters than do individuals who are not dissatisfied with Big Organizations'

role in political affairs.

The failure of both the measures of political cynicism and dissatisfaction with perceived personal influence to relate to other measures confirmed our earlier decision to discard them. Hence, future analyses will entail only the following dependent variables: political inefficacy, satisfaction with the outputs of the Provincial Government, satisfaction with the outputs of the National Government, citizen duty to be politically interested, citizen duty to vote, disaffection with the power of Governmental authorities, dissatisfaction with perceived political influence of Big Organizations, sense of relevance of National Government, and sense of relevance of Provincial Government.

What conclusions can be drawn from the above findings? Firstly, there is justification for believing that the notion of political alienation is not an entirely meaningless concept among the adolescents sampled here. There is enough continuity of "negative responses" to indicate that anti-government attitudes are not simply random responses, the consequence of an unclear and amorphous picture of Governmental Authorities. Secondly, there is evidence that the individuals who feel politically powerless also believe one, that Governmental authorities are not performing as they "ought to" -- that is, their activities are not improving

the state of affairs -- and two, that the power of institutionalized authorities is not appropriate or fair -- that is, authorities have too much say as to how Canada shall be governed. Insofar as these latter two attitudes are akin to attitudes of political normlessness as defined by Finifter, we are observing a different phenomenon than that which she noted. Finifter found political powerlessness and political normlessness to be unrelated. We do not. Is it conceivable, then, that antagonism toward political authorities observed here is not an antithesis of specific support, but of diffuse support?

In order to understand better the nature of these alienation feelings, let us turn now to an examination of the relationship of feelings of political powerlessness and dissatisfaction with Government's activities, on the one hand, and political information and politicization, on the other.

Chapter 5: Notes

1. Those respondents who are highly politically inefficacious agree strongly or somewhat with all five positively-worded political inefficacy items; those respondents highly inefficacious disagree somewhat or strongly with all items.
2. 56% of the sample agrees strongly or somewhat with 2/3 of the positively worded political cynicism statements. 41% of the students agree strongly or somewhat with all three political cynicism statements; 4% disagree strongly or somewhat with all items.
3. 71% of the students thought that two or fewer of the four organizations subsumed under the concept "Big Organizations" had too much influence; 91% rated no more than two of the "Big Organizations" as being too influential as decision-makers.
4. David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy", 25 - 38; Richard Niemi and Kent Jennings, "The Transmission of Political Values From Parent to Child", 178.
5. P.W. Struve, "The Political Socialization of Adolescents: A Study of Students in a Midwestern High School", Dissertation Abstracts International Humanities and Social Sciences, 30(2), 781A.
6. Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the US", American Political Science Review, 62, 3(1968), 863.
7. Easton and Dennis, Children in the Political System, 104.
8. Sense of Relevance of Provincial Government and Sense of Relevance of National Government are highly related: $\Gamma = .7589$ χ^2 significant beyond .0001 level.

CHAPTER 6

PERSONALITY, POLITICIZATION, AND POLITICAL ALIENATION

This chapter investigates the effects of five independent variables upon political alienation feelings. These independent variables are: age, political information, political interest, social isolation, and social trust.

A. Political Alienation as a Developmental Concept

Much research has focused upon political socialization as a developmental process.¹ There is controversy, however, concerning whether this developmental process is not complete for the most part by the time the student leaves elementary school, or whether the process necessarily continues throughout junior and senior high school as the child develops the cognitive capacities requisite to the acquisition of certain political ideas and attitudes.² Efforts to trace the development of political socialization throughout adolescence have focused upon examining whether stimuli present in the adolescent's environment -- for example, high school civics courses and peer groups -- affect the teenager's political attitudes.³

Here, our only concern is with whether different political attitudes change over grade. If they do, so that, for example, the political ideas of the seventh grade student differ from those of the eleventh grade student, then we will say, since grade and age are extremely

highly inter-related that there is justification for conceptualizing political socialization as a developmental process.⁴

Figures 6.1 through 6.7 allow us to grasp visually the differences in political alienation attitudes of junior and senior high school students. In very general terms, older adolescents possess attitudes more favorable to the Government than do younger adolescents. Older adolescents are more inclined to believe in both the benevolence and relevance of both the National and Provincial Governments. As well, they are more willing to regard the citizen as having a duty to vote and be interested in politics and community affairs. Older students are also slightly more inclined to approve of the decision-making power of sanctioned authorities, like the Cabinet, House of Commons, and Prime Minister.

The most interesting findings that emerge when feelings of political alienation are examined over grade are the following. One, older students have neither higher nor lower feelings of political inefficacy than do younger students. And two, senior high school students tend to believe somewhat more strongly than do junior high students that Big Organizations have too much say in deciding how affairs in Canada should be run. With respect to feelings of political inefficacy, there are indications that grade twelve students feel somewhat less inefficacious than do

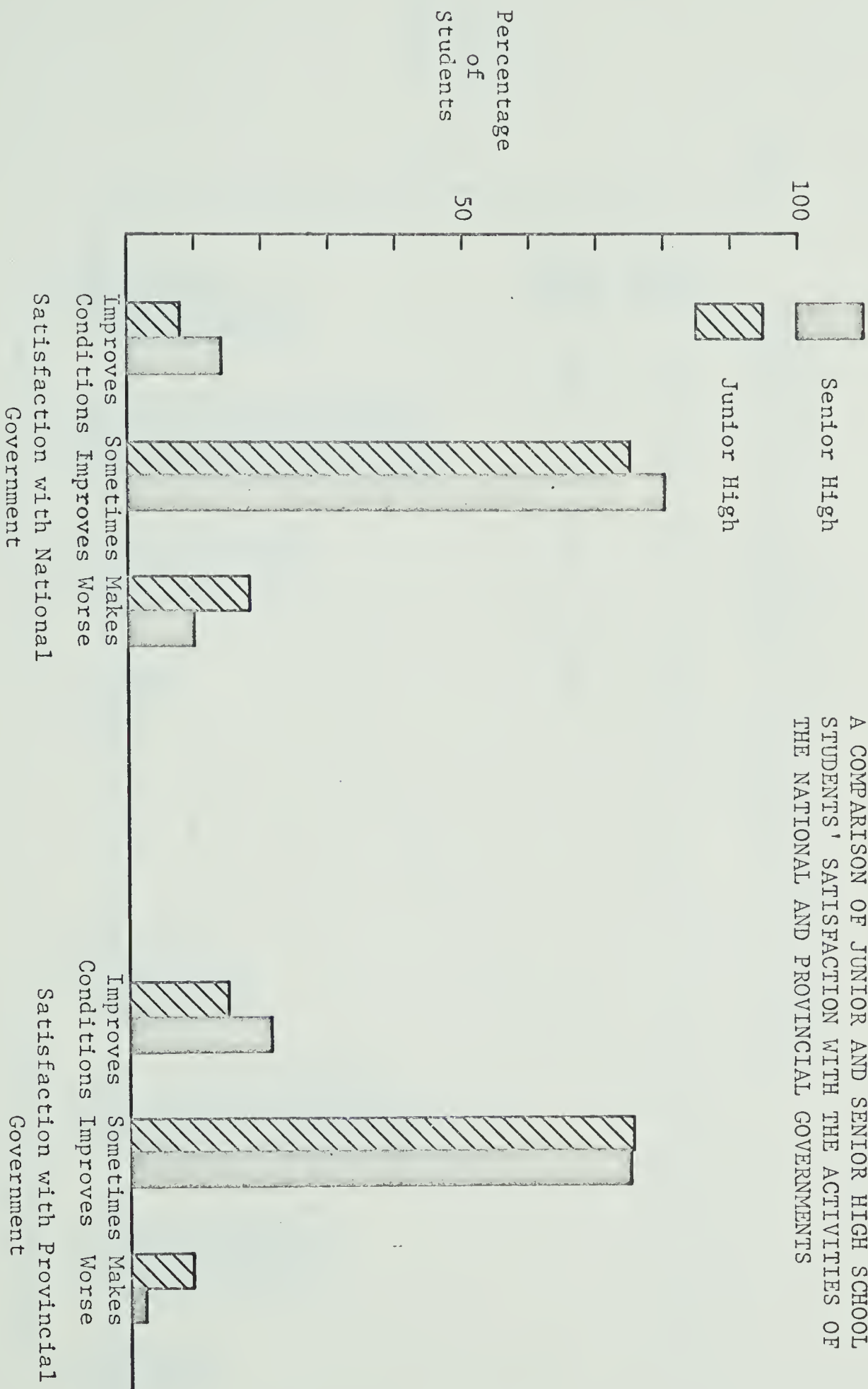
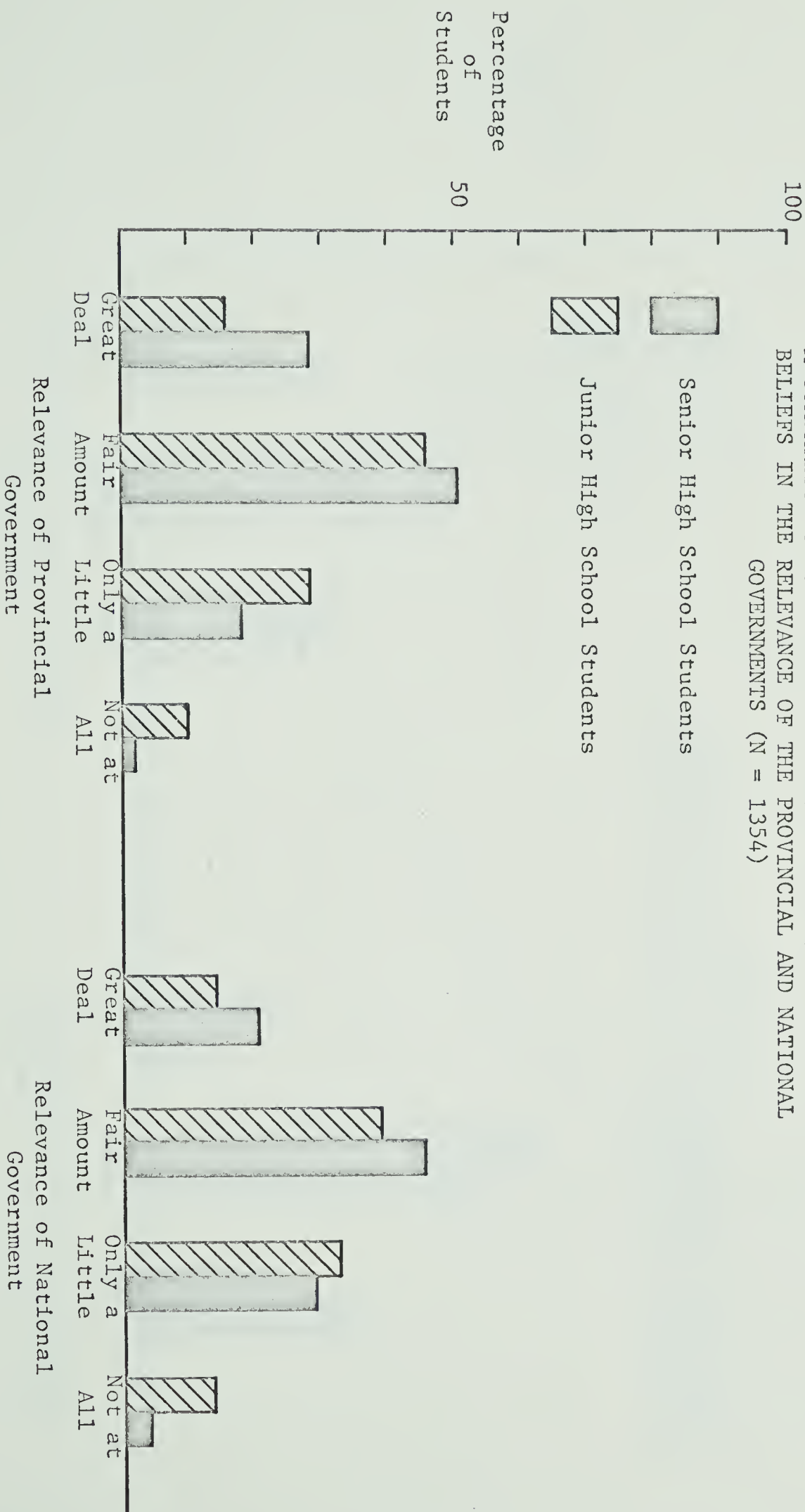


Figure 6.1
A COMPARISON OF JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
STUDENTS' SATISFACTION WITH THE ACTIVITIES OF
THE NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

Figure 6.2
A COMPARISON OF JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS' BELIEFS IN THE RELEVANCE OF THE PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS (N = 1354)



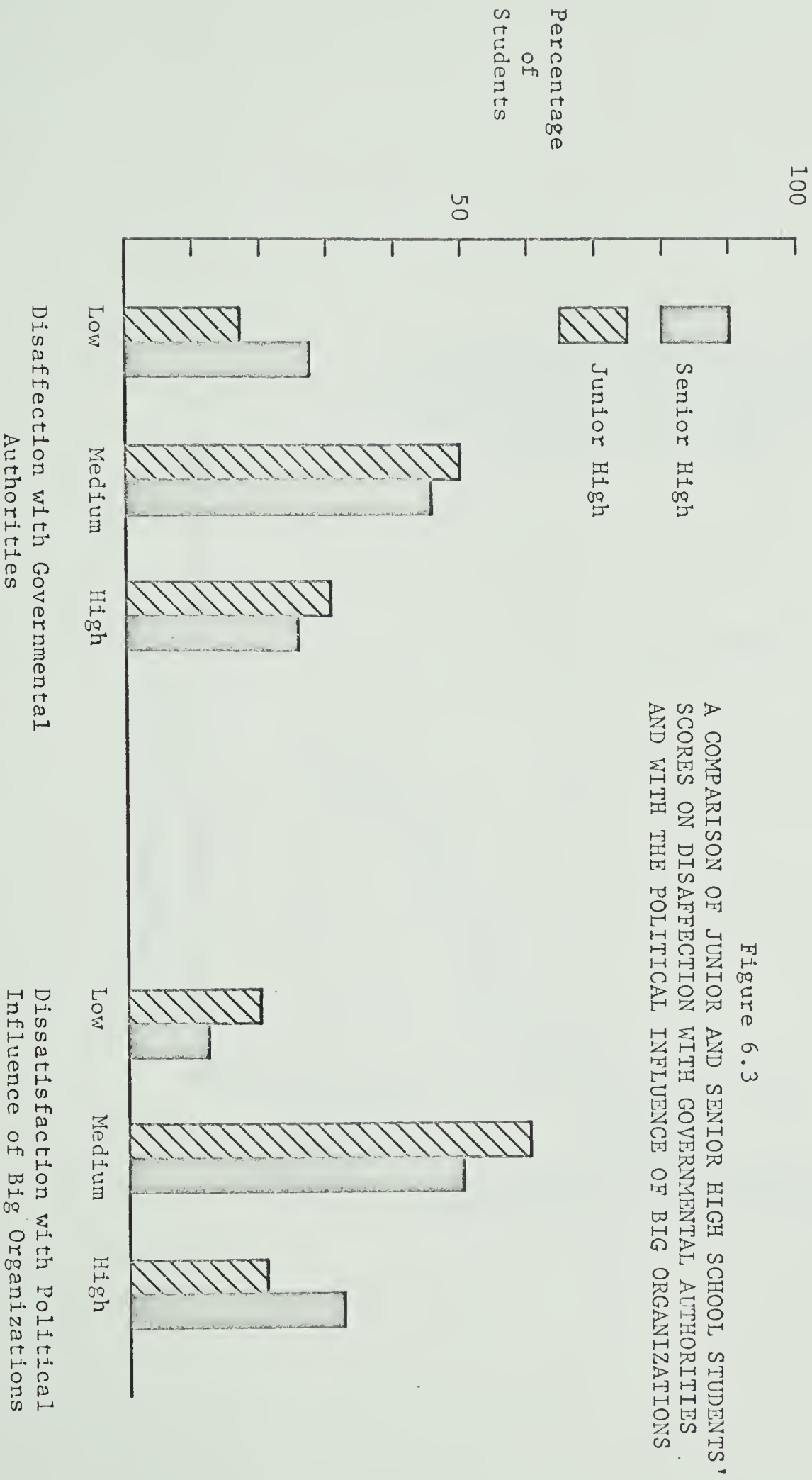
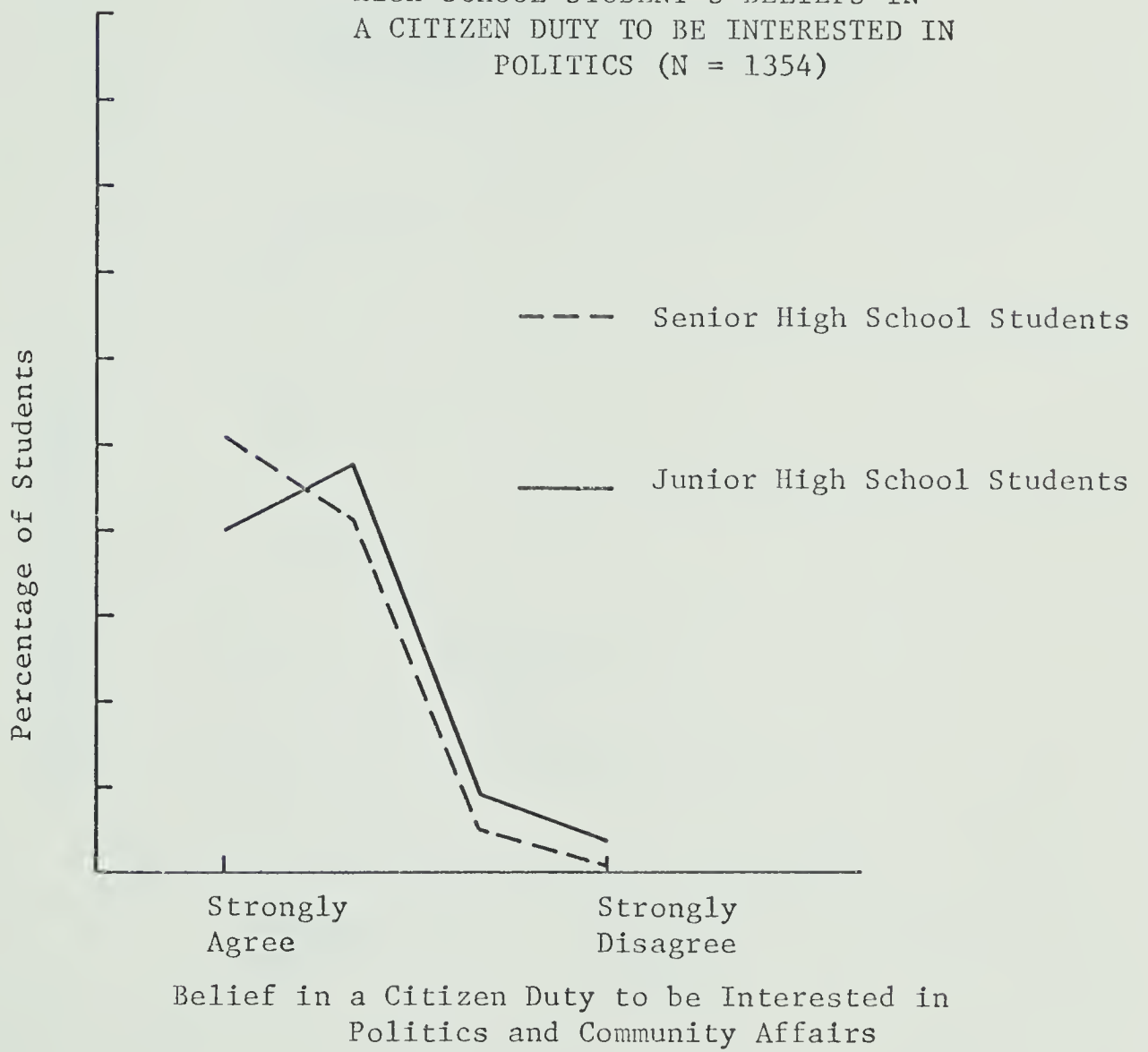
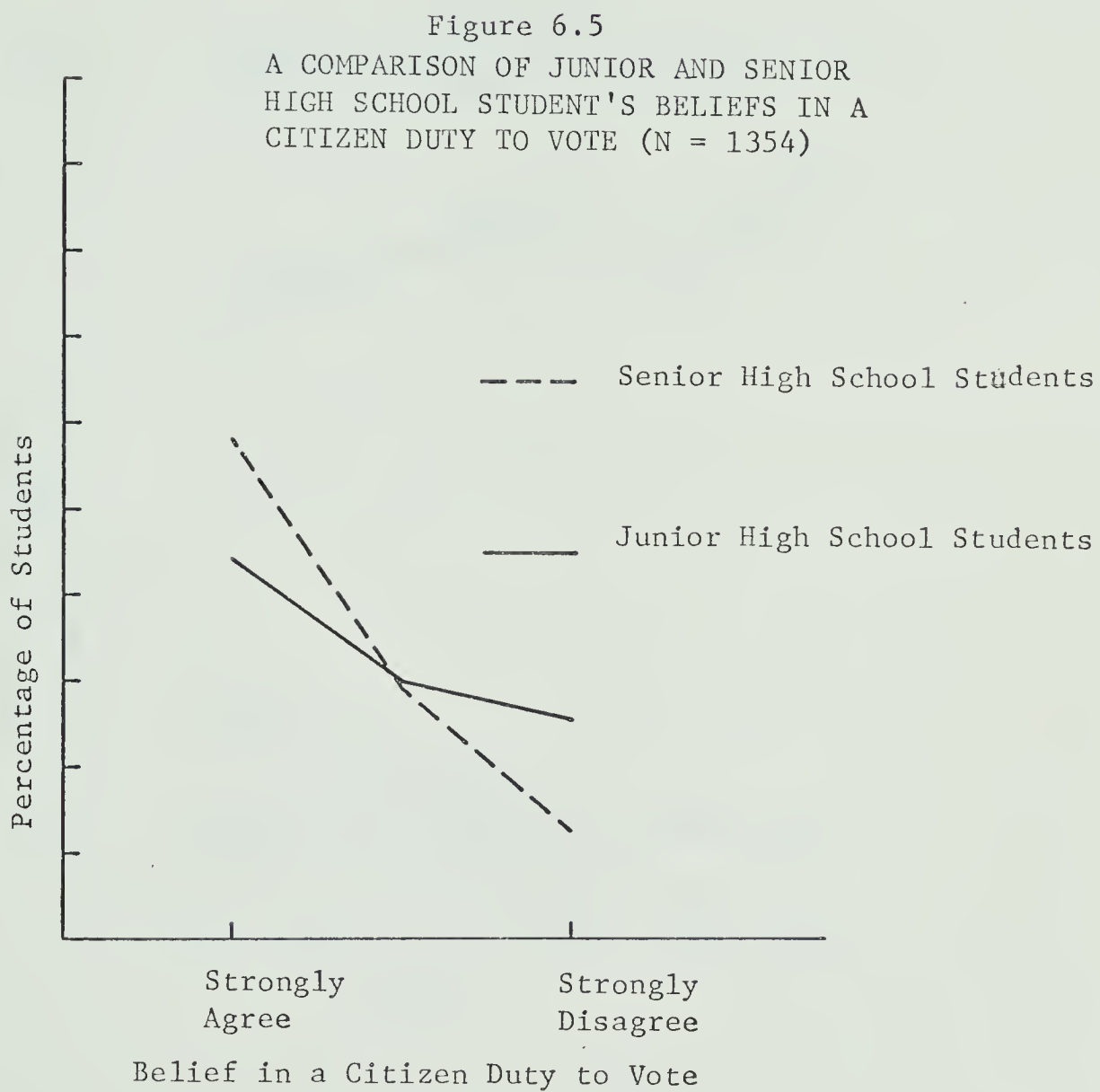


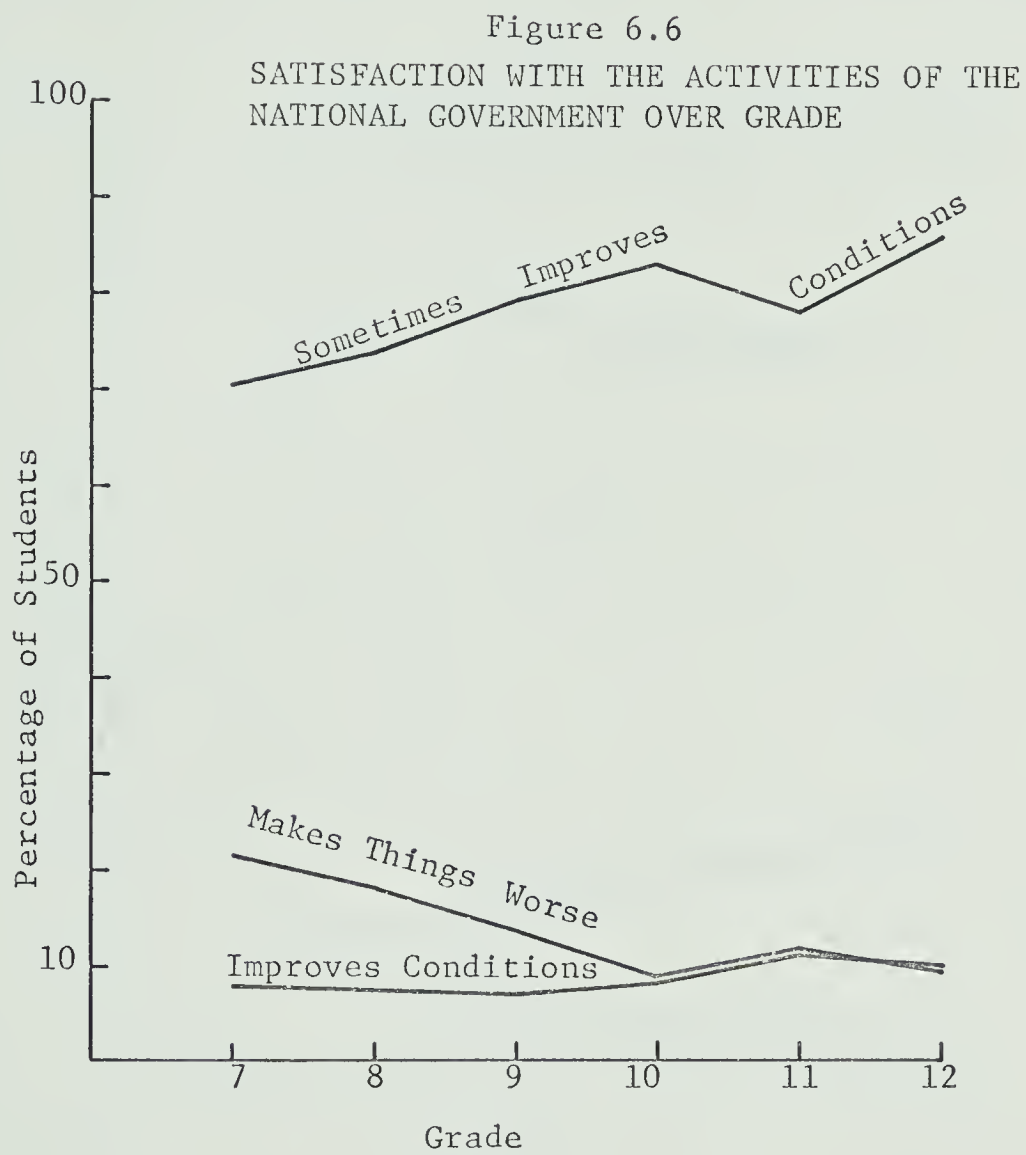
Figure 6.3
A COMPARISON OF JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS' SCORES ON DISAFFECTION WITH GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITIES AND WITH THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF BIG ORGANIZATIONS

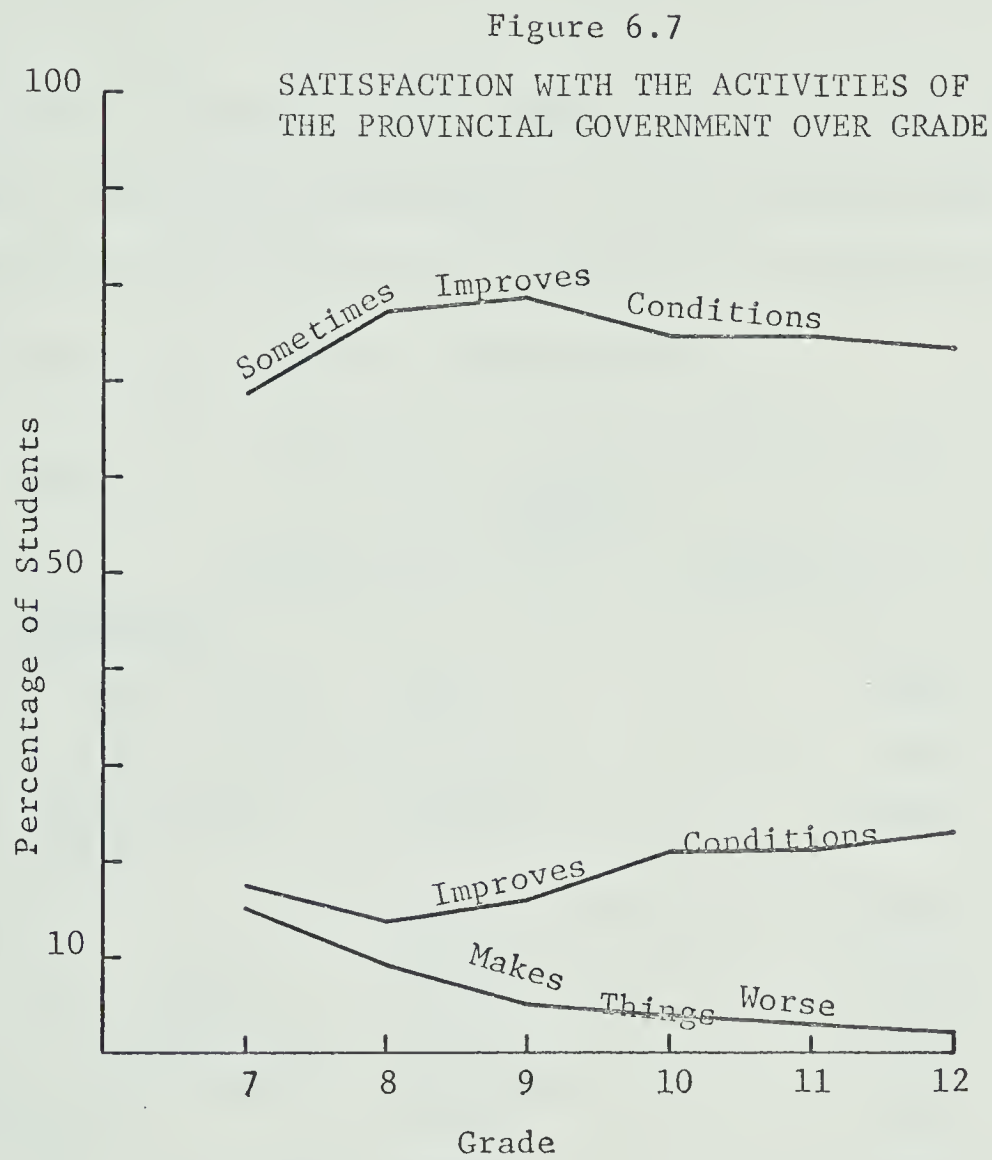
Figure 6.4

A COMPARISON OF JUNIOR AND SENIOR
HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT'S BELIEFS IN
A CITIZEN DUTY TO BE INTERESTED IN
POLITICS (N = 1354)









students in other grades. (Just slightly more than one-fifth of twelfth grade students score high on feelings of political inefficacy as compared to almost one third of students in grades seven to eleven. And 36% of the grade eleven and twelve students score high on feelings of political efficacy as compared to 26% of the grade seven students.)

Table 6.1 presents the cross-tabulations of grade and political alienation measures. All relationships are strengthened when grade is treated as a dichotomous variable (junior and senior high school).

Table 6.1 POLITICAL ALIENATION ATTITUDES OVER GRADE

	Grade (7 - 12)	Grade (Jr. - Senior)
Political Inefficacy		
Satisf. with Prov. Gov't.	.2065	.2868
Satisf. with Nat'l. Gov't.	.1751*	.2466
Duty to be politically interested	.1760**	.2484
Duty to vote	.2060	.2773
Relev. of Prov. Gov't.	.2408	.3434
Relev. of Nat'l. Gov't.	.2052	.2675
Disaffection with Gov'tal. Authorities	.1385***	.1871
Dissatisf. with Influence of Big Organizations	.2296	.3063

All relationships are significant at the .0001 level for chi square statistic, except * significant at .005 level

 ** .0005 level
 *** .001 level

Looking within the Table, we note at least two things. Firstly, the differences over grade in perception of the relevance of the activities of the Government, and satisfaction with those activities (belief that such activities tend to improve conditions rather than make things worse) are more pronounced with respect to the Provincial Government than with the National Government. And secondly, the difference in the proportion of younger students and older students who believe the Government worsens conditions diminishes abruptly at the grade ten level.

How do these trends over grade compare with the developmental nature of similar attitudes investigated within samples of students in the United States? In seeking this kind of cross-cultural comparison, we are beset with at least two difficulties: one, the necessity of assuming the comparability of different attitudinal measures; and two, the lack of developmental studies of like attitudes among American junior and senior high school students. Accordingly, differences suggested are for the most part tentative.

We have noted here the failure of feelings of political inefficacy to change over grade, thus suggesting that feelings of political ineffectiveness in political affairs have their sources in factors unrelated to maturational trends. If this is true, we are witnessing a difference

between this sample and American student samples, within which Easton and Dennis have traced the child's rising sense of political efficacy as he progresses through elementary school.⁵ A second difference is discerned if we regard the increasing tendency over grade to believe the activities of the National and Provincial Governments improve conditions as equivalent to a trend towards believing in the benevolence of Governmental activities. Greenberg asked white American children whether the United States Government, the State Government, or the local City Government made things better for most people, worse, or not different at all. There was a decline, though slight, over grades three to nine in responses that the United States National Government made things better for most people. This decreasing faith over grade in belief in the benevolence of Government was more pronounced with respect to the State Government, and most pronounced for the City Government. The proportion believing the City Government tends to make things better for most people dropped from three out of five students in grade seven to two out of five grade nine students.⁶ Greenberg thus found a decreasing tendency to see government as "protective and nurturant" as children get older. We have found here an increasing tendency to view government as benevolent with age.

That higher proportions of older adolescents perceive a duty to vote and follow politics and community

affairs is consistent with findings established on American samples.⁷

B. Political Alienation and Other Political Attitudes

The investigation of feelings of political alienation as a developmental phenomenon means more than positing age as an independent variable and investigating political alienation across grade. Age in itself may be unimportant; age may be important only by its nature as a surrogate variable confounded with other characteristics like level of information and awareness. Thus, those who investigate political alienation as a developmental concept focus as well upon the pattern of interactions (events) that could conceivably result in feelings of alienation vis-a-vis the political system. However, because our research design is not longitudinal, but cross-sectional, this hypothesizing of sources of political alienation proceeds upon the assumption that, as a consequence of possessing different personality-type or sociological characteristics, different individuals experience different things, and consequently learn different things and assume different attitudes. Then, if we observe that individuals who presently possess different sociological characteristics and personality traits have different political attitudes, we then infer that their attitudes are to some degree the consequence of their different backgrounds and psychological makeups. It is for

this reason that we proceed by comparing political alienation feelings among groups different in sociological characteristics. Similarly, if we are concerned with the question -- "What attitudes are maturational - that is, dependent upon a certain level of cognitive development for their acquisition?" -- we investigate groups of students of different ages and educational levels, seeking to establish the threshold of occurrence of given attitudes.

The following discussion investigates the effect upon political alienation of four personality variables: two political in nature, two not. Two different variables which have been found to be associated with political attitudes are political information; and political interest, political discussion, and media consumption. Not only has an individual's political activities, like media consumption, for example, been found to affect his level of political awareness, but both political awareness and political information have been related more directly to satisfaction with governmental authorities (which variable falls under the rubric of political alienation as we have operationalized the concept here).⁸ Better informed students have been found to have higher feelings of political efficacy.⁹ Black children in the United States who are politically aware are more attached to the National

Government than are politically unaware black children.¹⁰ On adult samples, both political interest¹¹ and political knowledge have been observed to be negatively related to feelings of political alienation.¹²

In addition, two other variables, not political in nature, have been found to affect political alienation feelings. These two variables are social trust and social isolation. Misanthropy, or a lack of social trust, has been observed to correlate strongly with political alienation feelings among adults.¹³ The interpretation put upon such findings is that distrust of political authorities is part of a more generalized sense of distrust of people. In fact, social trust has been used as an indicator of political alienation.¹⁴ Finifter found "faith in people" to be the best predictor of perceived political normlessness (the latter was defined as one of two dimensions of political alienation).¹⁵ A lack of faith in people has been found to be related to social alienation and anomie.¹⁶

Social isolation, as the state opposite to social integration, refers to both a physical and a psychological condition. Individuals not integrated into a pattern of social interaction can be described as socially isolated, as can individuals who feel themselves not to be a part of desired social interactions, regardless of whether they are in fact.

When social isolation has been operationalized so as to be equivalent to organizational membership (and involvement), it has been found to exert an effect independent of socio-economic status upon adult political alienation feelings.¹⁷ Social isolation has itself been treated as a dimension of political alienation. When social isolation was posited, along with normlessness and powerlessness to be a component of alienation from society, a low but statistically significant relationship was found between alienation and rural background.¹⁸ As well, isolation has been found to be a factor affecting the mode of expression of political alienation feelings.¹⁹

The effects of social isolation and social trust upon adolescent political attitudes may be contingent upon the joint occurrence of the two dispositions. Participation in high school extracurricular activities has been found to generate feelings of integration into the informal high school system.²⁰ Feelings of integration, in turn, are associated with social trust. And socially-trusting teenagers have been found to be more inclined to approve of "politics". On the other hand, Ziblatt found no direct relationship (in this same study) between participation in high school extracurricular activities and positive or negative attitudes toward politics. Hence, if social isolation is represented by a lack of participation in extra-curricular activities, then, only if social isolation

generates feelings of social distrust may social isolation effect political attitudes.

Ziblatt's conclusions are not upheld by another study of how participation in American high schools affects political attitudes. Helen Sonnenburg Lewis found direct positive relationships between participation in high school extra-curricular activities and sense of political efficacy, expectation of future political participation, and legitimacy sentiments towards political institutions and political parties.²¹

It is the purpose of the remaining part of this chapter to examine the effects of these four independent variables - politicization, political knowledge, social trust, and social isolation - upon feelings of political alienation.

1. Construction of Measures of Politicization, Political Information, Social Trust, and Social Isolation

A detailed account of the construction of measures of Politicization, Political Information, Social Isolation, and Social Trust is found in Appendix B. In addition, frequency distributions of Politicization, Political Information, Social Isolation, and Social Trust are given in Appendix B.

Politicization is defined here to embrace an individual's political interest; the frequency of his political discussions with his parents, friends, and teachers; and his assumption of an active role in discussions of poli-

tical matters with his friends.

Seven Political Information questions were used to construct a Likert-type scale of Political Information. As with the Politicization measure, students have been categorized as "High", "Medium", and "Low" on Political Information.

The measure of Social Trust used here is an adaptation of Rosenberg's "faith in people" scale.²² It taps an individual's belief that people can be trusted, are helpful, and try to help, rather than are distrustful, look out for themselves, and take advantage when given an opportunity.

The individual who is Socially Isolated in a physical sense is the student who spends his spare time after school and on the weekends by himself, rather than in the company of his friends and family. The individual who is socially isolated in a psychological sense is the student who feels left out most of the time or sometimes from the centre of things at school.

2. Politicization, Political Information, Social Isolation, Social Trust and Political Alienation

Does the adolescent's level of Political Information and Politicization affect his perception of his relationship to Governmental authorities? It would seem so. As Table 6.20 indicates, the association between Political Information and Politicization, and Political

Table 6.20 SUMMARY OF STRENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP (GAMMA) BETWEEN POLITICAL ALIENATION MEASURES AND POLITICIZATION, POLITICAL INFORMATION, SOCIAL TRUST, AND SOCIAL ISOLATION (N = 1354)

	Politicization	Political Information	Social Trust	Social Isolation (Spare Time Alone)	Political Isolation (Left Things)
Political Inefficacy	—	—	.2095	—	—
Satisf. with Nat'l. Gov't.	.2563	.2144*	.2234	.4180**	.1943
Satisf. with Prov. Gov't.	.3264	.3166	.1991	.1988	—
Relev. of Prov. Gov't.	.3513	.2563	—	—	—
Relev. of Nat'l. Gov't.	.3734	.2206	—	—	—
Duty to be politically interested	.4156	.2669	—	—	—
Duty to vote	.1688	.1488*	—	—	—
Disaffection with Gov'tal. Authorities	—	.2071	.1733	—	—
Disaffection with Big Organizations	—	.3142	—	—	—

All relationships are significant for chi square statistic beyond .0001 level except * and ** which are significant beyond the .002 and .001 levels, respectively.

Attitudes are statistically significant.

Let us verbalize the findings of Table 6.2. Individuals who are highly politicized believe, in larger numbers than lowly politicized students, that both the National and Provincial Governments improve conditions, and have a great deal or some effect upon daily affairs. Tables 6.2 and 6.3 illustrate this more clearly.

Table 6.2 Cross-Tabulation of Relevance of National Government by Politicization (N = 1354)

Sense of Relevance of National Gov't.	Level of Politicization		
	High (N=527)	Medium (N=480)	Low (N=347)
Great Deal	24.9%	16.3%	9.5%
Fair Amount	48.6	44.6	31.4
Only a Little	24.1	32.3	38.3
Not at All	2.5	6.9	20.7
Total	100.0%	100.1%	99.9%

Gamma = .3734 df = 6 χ^2 significant beyond .0001 level

Table 6.3 Cross-Tabulation of Satisfaction With the Activities of the National Government by Politicization (N = 1354)

Satisfaction With the National Gov't.	Level of Politicization		
	High (N=527)	Medium (N=480)	Low (N=347)
High	11.0%	7.1%	5.8%
Medium	79.3	81.3	73.5
Low	9.7	11.7	20.7
Total	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%

Gamma = .2563 df = 4 χ^2 significant beyond .0001 level.

Tables 6.4 and 6.5 in Appendix C give the cross-tabulation results for the Provincial Government.

Individuals who are highly politicized are also much more inclined to perceive a citizen duty to be interested in politics and community affairs, and slightly more willing to perceive voting as a citizenship duty than are lowly politicized students. (See Table 6.6 in Appendix C.) However, an individual's level of politicization has no effect upon either his feelings of political inefficacy or his approval of the power of institutional authorities or his satisfaction with the amount of say Big Organizations have in decision-making.

Politically informed students, like politicized students, possess more supportive attitudes than poorly informed students. Firstly, while the better informed student is neither more nor less politically efficacious, he does believe somewhat more strongly in the relevance of both the Federal and Provincial Governments. See Table 6.7 below, and Table 6.8 in Appendix C. High information is strongly negatively associated with the belief that the National Government has no effect at all. Secondly, persons with low amounts of information are more inclined than the better informed to feel that the activities of the National and Provincial Governments tend to make things worse. (See Table 6.9 and Table 6.10 in Appendix C.) Conversely, students who possess a high amount of information credit the National

Table 6.7 Cross-Tabulation of Sense of Relevance of National Government by Information (N = 1342)

Relevance of National Government	Level of Information		
	High (N = 315)	Medium (N = 605)	Low (N = 422)
Great Deal	24.8%	18.3%	12.3%
Fair Amount	44.4	43.8	40.0
Only a Little	29.2	29.1	34.4
Not at All	1.6	8.8	13.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Gamma = .2206 df = 6 chi square statistic significant beyond .0001 level.

Table 6.9 Cross-Tabulation of Satisfaction with National Government by Political Information

Satisfaction with National Government	Level of Information		
	High (N=315)	Medium (N=605)	Low (N=422)
Improves Conditions	10.8%	9.1%	5.2%
Sometimes improves, sometimes not	79.7	79.2	77.5
Makes things worse	9.5	11.7	17.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Gamma = .2144 df = 4 χ^2 significant beyond .001 level

and Provincial Governments with improving the state of affairs. Thirdly, highly informed students are more inclined to believe that the citizen has a duty to be interested in politics and community affairs, and slightly more willing to perceive a citizen duty to vote, than are the poorly informed students.

See Table 6.11. And fourthly, those who are highly informed affirm in larger numbers than those who are poorly informed, the legitimacy of the power of Government officials and structures, and interestingly, not the amount of say Big Organizations have in how affairs in Canada should be run. See Table 6.12 below and Table 6.13 in Appendix C.

Table 6.11 Belief in Duty to be Interested in Politics by Political Information

Belief in Duty to be Interested in Politics	Level of Political Information		
	High (N=315)	Medium (N=605)	Low (N=422)
Strongly Agree	59.7%	46.1%	35.3%
	34.3	44.8	51.9
	4.8	6.4	8.8
Strongly Disagree	1.3	2.6	4.0
Total	100.1%	99.9%	100.0%

Gamma = .2669 df = 6 chi square statistic significant beyond .0001 level

Table 6.12 Disaffection with Governmental Authorities by Political Information

Disaffection with Governmental Authorities	Level of Political Information		
	Low (N=422)	Medium (N=605)	High (N=315)
Low	16.4%	21.2%	35.6%
Medium	50.7	49.9	42.5
High	32.9	28.9	21.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Gamma = -.2071 df = 4 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Let us reiterate what the above results indicate. The poorly informed student does not feel a duty either to participate or to be interested in politics; believes the Provincial and National Governments have little or no impact upon his daily life; feels that the National and Provincial Governments tend to make things worse rather than better; and is dissatisfied with the amount of say Government institutions have in deciding how affairs in Canada should be run, but not with the power of Big Organizations. The highly informed student, on the other hand, perceives an obligation to participate and be interested in politics, tends to be somewhat less certain that Governmental Institutions have an illegitimate amount of say in deciding how Canada should be governed, but believes Big Organizations have too much influence, and believes that the two levels of Government have a great deal or a fair amount of effect upon his daily life, which impact is felt by an improvement of conditions.

Given the high inter-relationship between Political Information and Politicization,²³ we should expect Politicization to relate to the specified political attitudes in much the same manner as Political Information. What is surprising, then, is the finding that level of Political Information is related to approval of the influential decision-making position of Governmental officials and structures and the influence of Big Organizations in govern-

ing Canada, but Politicization is not. The meaning of this is uncertain: possibly it suggests that the acquisition of political information may be more important, in the long run, in belief in the legitimacy of political authorities, than participative orientations.

Does either Social Trust or Social Isolation have an effect upon the political attitudes being examined here? Both Social Trust and Social Isolation appear to have a bearing upon dissatisfaction with the activities of the National Government. Those individuals who either spend their spare time by themselves rather than in the company of others, or who feel left out of things at school most or almost all of the time, or both, believe quite strongly that the National Government does not improve conditions but makes things worse. Socially distrusting adolescents, as well as adolescents physically removed from people are dissatisfied with the activities of the Provincial Government, as well. (These relationships are presented in tabular form in Tables 6.14 through 6.17 in Appendix C.)

In addition, misanthropy affects an individual's feelings of political effectiveness and satisfaction with the power of Governmental officials and structures. This finding supports the argument that feelings of ineffectiveness vis-a-vis political authorities and belief in their non-responsiveness, and skepticism regarding the legitimacy

of Governmental power is part of a more general lack of faith in people generally.

The above findings would suggest, contrary to the evidence of Ziblatt, that social isolation and social trust exert independent effects upon political attitudes; and that social trust is not an intervening variable between social isolation and negative attitudes toward the Government. Instead, we have some support for Lewis' claim that social isolation can have an independent effect upon political attitudes and not an effect mediated by social trust.

What this second half of the chapter has revealed is that Politicization and Political Information are both positively related to favorable attitudes toward the Government, sense of citizen duty, and feelings of political effectiveness. Social Isolation and Social Trust have less of a tie-in with supportive attitudes, but do relate to satisfaction with governmental outputs, and, in the case of Social Trust, to feelings of Political Efficacy and Belief in the Legitimacy of the Power of Governmental Authorities.

C. Sex Differences in Political Attitudes

Sex, as an independent variable, differs from Politicization, Political Information, Social Isolation, and Social Trust in being a "given", and hence, not a function of environmental or personality stimuli. It is examined here for its effects upon feelings of political alienation simply because its utility as an "explanatory"

variable has been noted both in studies of adult political attitudes and childhood political orientations. Adult sex differences have been well documented, and generally establish the lower level of political interest, political information, and political activity of women as compared to men. On samples of American children and teen-agers, boys have been found to be better politically informed²⁴, more politically active,²⁵ and stronger believers in a citizen duty to participate.²⁶ On the other hand, no differences in "basic attachment, loyalty, and support of the country"²⁷ have been noted.

Ada Finifter found that the political alienation of men and women may be dimensionally different; she found that men scored somewhat higher in feelings of normlessness (sense that political authorities are not behaving in accordance with the political norms of the regime) than women, but women have higher feelings of powerlessness.²⁸

Our research supports neither those who argue no childhood sex differences in supportive attitudes nor Ada Finifter who found political alienation to be different in nature for men and women.

While boys do not differ from girls on any of the other indicants of political alienation feelings, boys are more inclined than girls to say that the National Government "makes things worse."²⁹ (18.5% versus 8.2%) More girls are inclined to say that the National Government

"sometimes improves conditions, sometimes makes things worse".

Sex differences in Political Information and Politicization are not found either. However, females are somewhat more trusting than males,³⁰ and describe themselves as slightly less isolated. Insofar as these two variables are related to Satisfaction with the National Government's activities, perhaps the sex differences noted here can be accounted for by those two variables. We will investigate this possibility at a later point in this paper.

Chapter 6: Notes

1. Dawson and Prewitt, op.cit.; Kenneth Langton, Political Socialization (London, 1969); Fred Greenstein, "Political Socialization", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences; Hess and Torney, op.cit.
2. Hess and Torney, op.cit.; Adelson and O'Neil, op.cit.
3. Edgar Litt, op.cit.; Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the U.S.", American Political Science Review, 62, 3(1968); T.G. Harvey, "The Peer Group and Adolescent Political Behavior: A Computer Simulation", Unpublished Paper; Kenneth Langton, "Peer Group and School and the Political Socialization Process", American Political Science Review, 61(Sept., 1967), 751 - 758.
4. Grade by Age: Gamma = .9428 df = 50 chi square statistic significant beyond .0001 level.
5. Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy"; Hess and Torney, op.cit.
6. Greenberg, op.cit., 260.
7. Fred Greenstein, Children and Politics, 99 - 100. Hess and Torney, op.cit., 83; 86 - 91.
8. Struve, op.cit.
9. Ted Harvey, A Multi-Dimensional Analysis of Patterns of Adolescent Political Socialization. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, 98.
10. Greenberg, op.cit., 274.
11. Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation", American Sociological Review, 24, 6(Dec., 1959), 783 - 791.
12. John Clarke, "Measuring Alienation Within a Social System", American Sociological Review, 24(1959), 849 - 852.
13. Finifter, op.cit., 401; Morris Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Political Ideology", American Sociological Review, 21(1956), 690 - 695; Wayne Thompson and John Horton, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action", Social Forces, 38(1960), 190 - 195.
14. Joel Aberbach, "Alienation and Political Behavior", American Political Science Review, 63, 1(March, 1969), 86 - 101.
15. Finifter, op.cit.

16. Thompson and Horton, op.cit.; Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation", American Sociological Review, 22(1957), 670 - 677.
17. William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration", American Sociological Review, 29, 2(April, 1964), 198 - 215.
18. Dwight Dean, "Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement", American Sociological Review, 26, 5(Oct., 1961), 753 - 758; Dwight Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy", Social Forces, 38(March, 1960), 185 - 189.
19. H.E. Ransford, "Isolation, Powerlessness, and Violence: A Study of Attitudes and Participation in the Watts Riot", American Journal of Sociology, 73, 5(1969), 581 - 591.
20. David Ziblatt, "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization", The Annals of the American Academy of Social Sciences, 361(Sept., 1965), 21 - 31.
21. Helen Sonnenburg Lewis, "The Teenage Joiner and His Orientation Toward Public Affairs: A Test of Two Multiple Group Membership Hypothesis". Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Michigan State University, 1962, quoted in Ziblatt, ibid., p.24.
22. Morris Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Political Ideology", American Sociological Review, 21(1956), 690 - 695.
23. Political Information by Politicization: Gamma = .4231
chi square significant beyond .0001 level.
24. Greenstein, Children and Politics, 116 - 118.
25. Hess and Torney, op.cit., 199 - 222, 253.
26. Struve, ibid.
27. Hess and Torney, op.cit., 199 - 222, 253.
28. Finifter, op.cit.
29. Sex by Satisfaction with National Government's Activities: Gamma = .2144 x² significant beyond .0001 level.
30. Social Trust by Sex: 36% of the girls versus 26% of the boys score High on Social Trust; 24% of the girls versus 35% of the boys score Low on Social Trust.

CHAPTER 7

FAMILY BACKGROUND AND POLITICAL ALIENATION

A. Introduction

The opportunity for parents to affect the political learning of the child is almost unavoidable. The generally high possibility of strong emotional ties being established between the child and his parents, and the probability of extensive interaction among family members -- an interaction which continues until the child leaves home -- permits one to assume that the family will exercise a role in the political socialization of the child. But it is not immediately obvious that all families will influence the political learning of the child to the same degree. Different students of political socialization have suggested that the efficacy of that influence process will be contingent upon several things, including the following: the political climate of the family; the internal decision-making structure of the family; the nature of the affective ties between the child and his parents; and the educational and social background of the parents. The family's influence may be felt in two ways -- directly, by a transfer of values and attitudes, or indirectly, by affecting the child's self-concept which in turn affects the child's propensity for political learning.¹

The possibility of the family directly transmitting political values and attitudes would seem to be a function

of the familial political climate. The latter includes the level of politicization within the family (political interest and discussion);² the homogeneity-heterogeneity of parent's political attitudes;³ parents' sense of political efficacy;⁴ and the consciousness of family efforts at political socialization. The second factor mentioned, aspects of the family structure, includes the following: the child's perception of parental control and his satisfaction with that power relationship;⁵ the child's opportunity to participate in family decision-making;⁶ the relative power and/or dominance of mother and father in authority;⁷ and the absence of the father from the family.⁸ The third aspect of the family which has been examined, the strength of emotional ties between the parents and the child, has been concerned to determine which parent the male and female child feels closer to. A fourth set of variables includes the educational and social background of the parents. The educational and social background of the parents results in the child's being placed within a social context; hence, any social class differences in the child's political knowledge and feelings of political efficacy, for example, are to some extent an indirect measure of family influence.

Of these four types of variables, only political climate and social climate (parent's educational and social background) will be examined here for their effect upon the child's feelings of political alienation. These two sets

of variables have been chosen because of their relative ease of measurement and their strong probability of affecting the child's political attitudes.

B. Measurement of Family Political Climate: Parents' Political Interest and Parent's Political Activity

The familial political climate which surrounds the child may have a bearing upon the child's political orientations, if for no other reason than "[o]ne would expect parents for whom politics is more salient to emit more cues both direct and indirect. Cue giving would structure the political orientations of the child, and, in the absence of rebellion, bolster parent-student correspondences."⁹

The familial political climate is described in terms of mother's and father's frequency of discussions of political and community affairs, intensity of political interest, and frequency of political activities, "like going to political meetings, election rallies, talking to politicians". A discussion of the construction of the measures of Parents' Political Interest and Parents' Political Activity is given in Appendix B. Mother's and father's party identification (as perceived by the respondent) will be investigated as a dimension of familial political climate.

Students of political socialization are in disagreement as to the importance of the familial political climate in the over-all political socialization of the child and adolescent. The controversy concerns itself with whether

the effect of the family is direct or indirect, and innovative (cue-giving) or reinforcing of the larger social environment. There is as yet no positive evidence that the parents' interest in and discussion of politics has a direct effect upon the child's political information and politicization. At best, the effect of parents' political interest would seem to be indirect, affect the child's feelings of political efficacy.¹⁰ Niemi and Jennings, as well, find evidence that the salience of politics within the family has more of an indirect than a direct effect upon the child's political socialization; its influence may be felt not through the child's adopting the political attitudes of his parents, but via its inverse relationship to the child's feelings of political cynicism.

More active political involvement on the part of the parents has been found to affect not only the child's feelings of political efficacy, but his sense of citizen duty and amount of political information as well.

The nature of the family as a political unit also can be described in terms of political party affiliation -- whether or not the mother and father identify with a political party, and the homogeneity or heterogeneity of that political party affiliation.¹¹ However, there have not been found to be any differences in "attachment to the nation" or "compliance to the system of law",¹² or with satisfaction with Governmental outputs, or in political

information across political party identification of parents. Even though no differences in party identification and political attitudes have been noted on samples of American students, it was decided here to include political party identification as one independent variable. The rationale is that it was hypothesized in this study (and correctly) that stark differences in political party identification over residence (and school) existed.

C. Measurement of Social Background

The adolescent moves as well within a particular social climate.¹³ As used here, social climate is a surrogate variable for key aspects of the environment within which the adolescent moves. Here the concept is defined in terms of the following discrete variables: father's and mother's level of education; father's occupational status; and, owing to income differences observed across sub-populations of residence, residence (farm, town, city).¹⁴ Interest in the variable of social climate arises because of our earlier observation that the process of learning political attitudes may differ across different environmental situations. Langton adduces evidence to show that the enduring nature of family influence may depend upon the parent's social climate and the environment within which the adolescent moves. Although initially both lower class males and upper and middle class

males from the maternally-dominated family had low feelings of efficacy as children, the middle and upper class male adolescents had strong feelings of political efficacy, while the lower class male adolescent continued to feel politically inefficacious. The conclusion which Langton drew is that ". . . the more efficacious and upper class political culture appears to counteract the differential effects of maternal dominance."¹⁵

These different discrete variables which we have placed under the rubric of social climate have been found, at one time, to have a bearing upon supportive attitudes, and at yet another time, to have no effect. Langton found that parents' level of education had both an indirect and a direct effect upon the child's supportive orientations. With respect to the indirect effect, parents' level of education had an effect upon the child's political information and participative orientations; with respect to the direct influence, parent's educational level had a bearing upon the child's feelings of political efficacy.¹⁶ Sigel, using an index of socio-economic status, found the same thing as Hess and Torney.¹⁷ On the other hand, neither of the two detailed studies of the childhood assessments of the legitimacy of the political system discovered any differences over social class (or religious affiliation) in attachment to the nation and affect for and faith in political authority figures.¹⁸

D. Findings

Basically, as Table 7.1 indicates, Parents' Political Interest does have some effect upon the child's positive attitudes towards government and politics. Firstly, the extent of parents' politicization has no bearing upon the child's feelings of effectiveness in politics. Nor does it affect the child's satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with the amount of power both Governmental authorities and Big Organizations have in determining how affairs in Canada shall be run. Secondly, adolescents who describe their parents' political interest and discussion as high and adolescents who characterize their parents as politically "active" affirm, in higher numbers, the duty of the citizen to be interested in politics and community affairs; however, they are neither more nor less likely than students describing their parents as lowly politically interested and as inactive in political affairs, to believe that the citizen has a duty to vote. See Tables 7.2 and 7.3 in Appendix C.

Thirdly, high parental political interest and frequent political discussion are associated strongly with the adolescent's belief that the activities of the Provincial Government tend to improve things, rather than make them worse, but only slightly with the adolescent's satisfaction with the activities of the National Government.

(See Tables 7.4 and 7.5 in Appendix C.) More active forms

Table 7.1

Strength of Relationship (Gamma) Between Parents' Political Interest and Parent's Political Activities and Political Alienation Variables
(N = 1354)

	Parents' Political Interest	Parents' Political Activities
Political Inefficacy	_____	_____
Satisfaction with the National Government	.1742*	_____
Satisfaction with the Provincial Government	.2689	_____
Sense of Relevance of Provincial Government	.3788	.1614*
Sense of Relevance of National Government	.4076	.1888
Duty to be Interested in Politics	.3840	.2390
Duty to Vote	_____	_____
Disaffection with Govern- mental Authorities	_____	_____
Dissatisfaction with Influence of Big Organizations	_____	_____

All relationships are significant for x^2 beyond .0001 level, except * which is significant for x^2 at .0005 level.

of political behavior on the part of one's parents have no relation to the student's belief in the benevolent nature of either Provincial or National Government's activities.

Fourthly, high Parents' Political Interest is strongly associated with the adolescent's perception of the National and Provincial Governments as having a "great deal" or "fair amount" of effect upon daily affairs. There is only a slight tendency for students who describe their parents' Political Activity as high to perceive in higher numbers than students describing their parents' Political Activity as less "active" that both the National and Provincial Governments have a great deal or some effect upon daily affairs. (The relationship is rather weak with respect to the Provincial Government.) (See Tables 7.6 and 7.7 in Appendix C.)

Four of the seven dependent variables postulated here as indicators of political alienation feelings -- Political Inefficacy, Duty to Vote, Disaffection with Governmental Authorities, and Dissatisfaction with Influence of Big Organizations -- relate not at all to intensity of Parents' Political Interest. One -- the Belief that the National Government Improves Conditions -- is weakly associated with the independent variable. Intensity of Parents' Political Activity appears to be even less important with respect to the child's feelings of political

alienation -- seemingly related only to the child's belief in a citizen duty to be interested in politics and community affairs.

Where the familial political climate exerts its strongest effect is upon the child's perception of the relevance of the activities of the National and Provincial Governments (particularly the former).

The foregoing discussion seems to indicate the general lack of a direct effect of the parental political climate upon adolescent political attitudes. However, these findings do not remove the possibility of parents' politicization indirectly affecting political alienation feelings. The high statistical relationship between intensity of Parents' Political Interest and adolescent perception of the National and Provincial Governments as having a "great deal" or "fair amount" of relevance upon daily affairs gives a priori support for this contention, if we recall the relationship between this latter variable and indicators of Political Alienation. As will be noted in the following chapter, the familial political climate affects other aspects of the child's political outlook (including his Politicization, Political Information, Social Isolation), which in turn relate directly to the adolescent's political attitudes.

One further aspect of the nature of the family as a political unit is the Political Party Identification of

the mother, father, and child. Does the respondent perceive himself and his parents as having a political party identification, and, if so, what is the object of that identification? Differences in adolescent political attitudes are discerned here across the political party identification of the respondent, his father, and his mother. Such differences are surprising, in light of so much evidence to the contrary with respect to samples of American school children.¹⁹

Owing to the strong correlations among respondent's party identification and reported father's and mother's party identification,²⁰ in the event of all relationships between respondent's and/or mother's and/or father's party identification and a given political attitude being statistically significant, only the strongest relationship will be reported.

When cross-tabulations of political party identification and political alienation variables were made, it became clear that the most basic differences in political attitudes appeared to be between party identifiers and individuals claiming "no party" or "other party" preference, or claiming ignorance of their and their parents' party preference. This being the case, all the latter individuals were collapsed into one category -- non-party identifiers. Pearson correlations were then performed with the different measures of political alienation and the political party affiliations of Liberal Party, Progressive Conservative

Party, Social Credit Party, New Democratic Party, and no party. The latter variables were treated as dummy variables.²¹ Table 7.8 gives a summary of these relationships which were statistically significant at the .001 level.

Table 7.8 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN POLITICAL ALIENATION MEASURES AND POLITICAL PARTY IDENTIFICATION OF RESPONDENT, HIS FATHER, AND HIS MOTHER PEARSON R'S.

Political Alienation	Conservative Party I.D.			Liberal Party I.D.		
	R	Father	Mother	R	Father	Mother
Relev. Prov. Gov't.	.0816	.1027	.1347			
Relev. Nat'l. Gov't.	.1222	.1310	.1539			
Satisf. Nat'l. Gov't.				.1730	.1460	.1537
Satisf. Prov. Gov't.	.0987	.1076	.1085	.0966		
Duty to be Politically Interested	.1122	.1218	.0962			
Disaff. Gov'tal. Authorities				.1376	.0975	.1259

What Table 7.8 indicates is the following:

Firstly, affiliation with the Liberal Party is associated with a much higher frequency of responses that the National Government improves conditions, and satisfaction with the amount of say Governmental Authorities have in running affairs in Canada, than is affiliation with any other political party. See Table 7.9 and 7.10.

Table 7.9 Cross-Tabulation of Satisfaction with Activities of the National Government by Respondent's Political Party Identification

Satisfaction with National Government	Respondent's Political Party I.D.						
	Liberal	P.C.	NDP	Social Credit	Other Party	No Party	D.K.*
Improves conditions	15.6%	7.7%	5.8%	4.6%	—	7.5%	5.1%
Sometimes improve	77.8	79.7	78.8	84.3	73.3	71.4	79.1
Makes things worse	6.6	12.5	15.4	11.1	26.7	21.1	15.8
Total N	(320)	(271)	(52)	(108)	(15)	(133)	(455)
%	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Gamma = .2588 df = 12 χ^2 significant beyond .0001 level

* Don't Know

The strength of the relationship between Mother's Party I.D. and Satisfaction with the Activities of the National Government is .2522; Father's Party I.D. and Satisfaction with the Activities of the National Government is .2191 both with 12 degrees of freedom and significant for χ^2 beyond .0001 level.

Table 7.10 Disaffection with Governmental Authorities by Respondent's Party Identification

Disaffection with Governmental Authorities	R's Party Identification						
	Liberal	P.C.	N.D.P.	Social Credit	Other Party	No Party	D.K.*
Low	32.5%	19.6%	9.6%	14.8%	20.0%	19.5%	23.1%
Medium	47.2	48.3	59.6	56.5	66.7	48.1	45.9
High	20.3	32.1	30.8	28.7	13.3	32.3	31.0
Total N	(320)	(271)	(52)	(108)	(15)	(133)	(455)
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0

Gamma = .1040 df = 12 χ^2 significant at .0001 level

Although approximately four-fifths of all students agree that the National Government "sometimes improves conditions, sometimes not", the frequency of students responding that the National Government "usually makes things worse" is at least twice as high for non-Liberal Party identifiers as for Liberal Party identifiers. Individuals who express "no party" affiliation or "other party" affiliation are the most prone to report that the National Government "usually makes things worse".

Secondly, affiliation with the Progressive Conservative Party is associated with a belief in a duty to be politically interested. Social Credit Party supporters are slightly less likely to be agreeable to a citizen duty to vote.

Thirdly, self-identified Liberals are slightly less likely to perceive the effect of the National Government upon daily affairs as being great and slightly less likely than other party identifiers to perceive a duty to participate. Table 7.11 gives the proportion of students of differing party identifications who perceive the relevance of the National Government.

Fourthly, respondents who identify with the Liberal Party have slightly stronger feelings of political efficacy than do adolescents who label themselves and their parents as supporters of other political parties.

Table 7.11 Cross-Tabulations of Sense of Relevance of the National Government by Respondent's Political Party Identification

Sense of Relevance of National Government	Respondent's Party Identification						
	Liberal	P.C.	NDP	Social Credit	Other Party	No Party	D.K.
Great Deal	20.3%	23.2%	26.9%	21.3%	33.3%	14.3%	11.6%
Fair Amount	47.5	46.1	40.4	37.0	26.7	40.6	40.2
Only a Little	26.6	28.0	28.8	34.3	40.0	32.3	33.6
Not at All	5.6	2.6	3.8	7.4	—	12.8	14.5
Total N	(320)	(271)	(52)	(108)	(15)	(133)	(455)
%	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9

Gamma = .1961 df = 18 χ^2 significant beyond .0001 level
The strength of the relationships between Father's Party I.D. and Mother's Party I.D. and Sense of Relevance of National Government are .1786 and .1961, respectively, for 18 degrees of freedom and for χ^2 significant beyond .0001 level.

The statistically strong finding that adolescents who claim for themselves and their parents identification with the Liberal Party are much more satisfied with the policy outputs of the National Government than are supporters of the other political parties is the most interesting of the relationships noted here. Frequencies of dissatisfaction with the National Government's activities are higher for children whose parents and who themselves identify with the New Democratic Party than for children who claim their and their parents' party identification to be Liberal. Children who report "no party" affiliation believe overwhelmingly that the National Government tends to make things worse.

What is significant is the focus of these sentiments upon the National Government.²² To what extent are these attitudes a consequence of the position of power of the Liberal Party in Ottawa at the present time? If they are, is a belief in the benevolent nature of Governmental activities contingent upon the party label of the political authorities and representatives in the Federal Government? Or, is it not merely a question of party label, but of an attitude grounded in the belief (which may well be a fairly rational position) that beneficial policy outcomes are either contingent upon one's political party achieving office and are simply not forthcoming for New Democratic Party and Social Credit Party identifiers, particularly, from a Government wherein the Liberal Party has the majority voice, for example.

What these findings support, to some extent and in an indirect way, is a disaffection within this adolescent sample from the traditional political parties (the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives) at not only the federal level, but the provincial level as well. It is somewhat surprising that Progressive Conservative Party identifiers are somewhat more favorably disposed toward the Provincial Government than are supporters of the Social Credit Party, which party has held political office since 1935. Progressive Conservative supporters possess attitudes at least as positive, and more positive with respect to citizen duty,

as Liberal Party supporters (except on the one attitude related to Satisfaction with the Activities of the National Government). It is the adolescent who identifies with a political party other than the Liberal and Progressive Conservative Parties, or with no party at all, who is disenchanted with Governmental authorities and politics generally.

A note of caution must be injected at this point and it is the possibility of the spuriousness of these relationships between political party identification and political attitudes. As will be soon observed, differences in respondent's level of Political Interest and Political Information, as well as in intensity of Parents' Political Interest and Political Activity exist over political party identification. Hence, owing to the relationship of all these latter variables to political attitudes, we must recognize the tentative nature of these relationships until we can control for other factors. This will be done in the next chapter.

E. Political Alienation and Social Climate

Each of the separate indices of social climate -- father's occupation, father's level of education, mother's level of education, and residence -- were investigated for their separate association with political alienation attitudes. As with political party identification, the technique of using dummy variables at the ordinal level of

measurement was utilized in order to allow Pearson correlations to be performed.

1. Father's Occupation and Adolescent Political Alienation

Does father's occupation make a difference in the adolescent's supportive attitudes? While there are no clear trends which distinguish children of parents professionally occupied from children of unskilled labourers, there are indications that children whose fathers are engaged in lower status occupations are slightly less positively oriented toward Government and politics. A couple of such indications are these. One, children of unskilled labourers are slightly less willing than other adolescents to maintain a citizen duty to participate and to hold that the Provincial Government tends to improve things, rather than make them worse; and two, teenagers whose parents are farmers are distinguished from teenagers whose fathers are employed professionally by their somewhat lower satisfaction with the National Government -- both its policy outputs and the amount of say it has in running the affairs of the Canadian people.²³

2. Parent's Level of Education and Political Alienation

Neither father's nor mother's level of education is found here to have any effect upon the adolescent's feelings of political inefficacy, satisfaction with the activities of the Provincial and National Governments, sense of citizen duty, or satisfaction with the role of Big Organizations

in running affairs in Canada. There is a definite tendency for children whose parents possess a university degree education to be more approving of the power position of Governmental Authorities in running Canadian affairs and, though very slight, to affirm the benevolent aspect of the Provincial Government's activities.²⁴ But generally, the level of mother's and father's education does not have a direct bearing upon the child's political attitudes examined here.

3. Residence (Farm, Town, and City) and Political Alienation

Do the political attitudes of students who live on a farm differ from those of students residing in a small town or in a large urban centre? Yes. And the differences add up to students residing on farms possessing less positive attitudes toward Government and politics than students who live in the large city. See Tables 7.12 through 7.15. Compared to city students, farm students feel somewhat less politically efficacious; are more inclined to feel that the National Government not only tends to make things worse rather than better, but are also disaffected with National Government institutions and authorities. However, farm and town students are more willing to regard interest in politics and community affairs as the duties of a good citizen.

None of sense of relevance of both levels of Government, satisfaction with the policy outputs of the Provincial

Table 7.12 Political Inefficacy by Residence
(N = 1329)

Feelings of Political Inefficacy	Residence		
	Farm	Town	City
High	36.1%	25.7%	27.8%
Medium	34.8	34.8	40.8
Low	29.1	39.5	31.4
Total N	(523)	(296)	(510)
%	100.0	100.0	100.0

Gamma = .0795 df = 4 χ^2 significant at .001

Table 7.13 Satisfaction with the Activities of
the National Government by Residence (N = 1329)

Satisfaction with Activities of the National Government	Residence		
	Farm	Town	City
Improves conditions	5.7%	10.5%	9.8%
Sometimes improves	78.2	78.7	78.4
Makes things worse	16.1	10.8	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Gamma = -.1525 df = 4 χ^2 significant beyond .01

Table 7.14 Belief in a Citizen Duty to be Interested
in Politics by Residence (N=1329)

Belief in a Duty to be Interested in Politics	Residence		
	Farm	Town	City
Strongly Agree	51.8%	52.0%	35.7%
	40.3	39.9	52.2
	5.4	5.1	9.2
Strongly Disagree	2.5	3.0	2.9
Total N	(523)	(296)	(510)
%	100.0	100.0	100.0

Gamma = .2081 df = 6 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 7.15 Disaffection with Governmental Authorities by Residence (N = 1329)

Disaffection with Governmental Authorities		Residence		
		Farm	Town	City
Low		15.5%	27.7%	28.0%
Medium		51.4	47.0	46.3
High		33.1	25.3	25.7
Total	N	(523)	(296)	(510)
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

Gamma = $-.1702$ df = 4 χ^2 significant at .0001 level.

Government, or belief in a duty to vote differ significantly across residence.

Of the four aspects of social climate investigated, then, rural-urban residence appears to be the most differentiating factor as far as positive (or negative) attitudes towards politics and government are concerned.

The importance of residence in accounting for differences in sentiments towards Governmental authorities and politics is noteworthy in suggesting the limitations of generality of American studies of political socialization -- studies which have been conducted on samples of children in large, urban, white middle-class America.

The finding that rural residence is associated with different political attitudes raises the question as to whether the alienation witnessed here is more a character-

istic of the rural students than of the urban students. However, before we conclude this, it is necessary to examine how other variables are confounded with residence. For example, we have noted the utility of predicting alienation feelings from the variables of Parents' Political Interest and Parents' Political Activity. Are residence and these latter two variables confounded so that children from rural Alberta come from homes which are somewhat less politically active, and are only alienated because their parents are politically inactive? It is in the effort to find out if the former is indeed the case, that we now turn to a discussion of the inter-relationships among the independent variables, and their confounding effects upon political alienation feelings.

Chapter 7: Notes

1. Morris Rosenberg, Society and the Adolescent Self-Image (Princeton, 1965).
2. Kenneth Langton, Political Socialization (London, 1969), 55.
3. Ibid., 59 - 66.
4. Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy", op.cit., 25 - 38.
5. Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values From Parent to Child", op.cit., 169 - 184.
6. Almond and Verba, op.cit., 274 - 275.
7. Kenneth Langton, ibid., 21 - 51.
8. Ibid.
9. Niemi and Jennings, op.cit., 181.
10. Langton, op.cit., 144.
11. Ibid., 66. Langton shows that the assumption that parents constitute a homogeneous political unit may not always be a correct one.
12. Hess and Torney, op.cit., 238 - 240; Easton and Dennis found that ". . . the party of the President does influence to some degree the extent to which the child approves of him." (195 - 198) However, they found that party identification was only a "marginal predictor" of affective responses to political authorities. (363 - 379)
13. The notion of social climate, adopted from Martin Levin, "Social Climates and Political Socialization", Public Opinion Quarterly, 25(Winter, 1961), 596 - 606, implicitly assumes a role-theorist orientation to the study of political socialization.
14. Rural-urban residence is used as an indicator of social climate in this research. Level of income as an indicator of social climate is subsumed under the variable of residence, owing to income differences existing across residence.
15. Langton, op.cit., 50.
16. Ibid., 44 - 48.
17. Roberta Sigel, "Image of a President: Some Insights into Political Views of School Children", American Political Science Review, 62(March, 1968), 216 - 226; Hess and Torney, op.cit., 256.

18. Hess and Torney, op.cit., 255; 253.
Easton and Dennis, op.cit., 363 - 379.

19. Ibid.

20. Mother's Party I.D. and R's Party I.D. Gamma = .7845
Father's Party I.D. and R's Party I.D. Gamma = .7458
For both relationships, the chi square statistic is significant beyond .0001 level of confidence with 25 degrees of freedom.

Correspondence between parents' party I.D. and R's party I.D. is strongest with respect to the Liberal Party and weakest with respect to the NDP; 84.6% of the students whose parents identify with the Liberal Party also choose that party; only 54.5% of the students whose father identifies with the NDP also choose that party.

21. Rummel explicates the use of dummy variables in multiple regression: "As nominal measures, religion and race may be included [in factor analysis] by treating each category and classification as a 'dummy variable'. Each religion could be made a separate variable measured by 0 = not of that religion (absence); and 1 = of that religion (presence)." Rummel says that factor loadings of phenomena measured on a nominal scale can be interpreted in the same way as regression coefficients when dummy variables are employed in multiple regression. R. J. Rummel, Applied Factor Analysis (Evanston, 1970), 224 - 225. Reference was also had to D. Suits, "Use of Dummy Variables in Regression Equations", Journal of American Statistical Association, 52 (1957), 548 - 551.
22. With respect to the Provincial Government, the differences in Satisfaction with Activities and Policy Outputs occur between party identifiers and non-party identifiers.
23. Disaffection with Governmental Authorities by Father's Occupation: Gamma = .2240 df = 16 chi square statistic significant at .0001 level
- | | | |
|---|---------|------------------|
| Disaffection with Governmental Authorities by | | |
| Professional Occupation | $r^2 =$ | -.1355 |
| Farmer Occupation | $r^2 =$ | .1209 $p < .001$ |
- Dissatisfaction with National Government's Outputs by
- | | | |
|-------------------------|---------|------------------|
| Professional Occupation | $r^2 =$ | -.0760 |
| Farmer Occupation | $r^2 =$ | .0830 $p < .001$ |
24. Dissatisfaction with Provincial Government by Mother's Education: Gamma = .1360 df = 14 χ^2 significant at .0001 level of confidence

CHAPTER 8

A MULTI-VARIATE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL ALIENATION

A. Summary of Previous Findings

Thus far we have examined the inter-relationships among several variables each posited to be an indicator of adolescent political alienation. As well, the independent effects of several variables upon these dependent variables have been investigated. It might be useful, now, to recapitulate briefly just what we have established thus far. The following paragraphs summarize these findings, beginning with the pattern of inter-relationships among the individual measures of political alienation.

1. Inter-relationships Among Political Alienation Measures

Attitudes concerning the relevance of the Provincial and National Governments, the beneficial nature of Provincial and Federal Governments' activities, and a citizen duty to be interested in politics and community affairs are inter-related. Individuals with positive attitudes on one of these variables generally hold positive attitudes on the other variables.

Measures of political inefficacy feelings, belief in a duty to vote, disaffection with Governmental authorities, and disaffection with the influence of Big Organizations in governmental affairs are less discriminatory. Individuals who respond negatively on one of these measures do not necessarily respond in like manner on either another of these

measures or on any of those cited in the previous paragraph.

The individual who feels politically inefficacious and disaffected with Governmental authorities tends to be less satisfied with the activities of the Provincial and National Governments than the politically efficacious student not disaffected with Governmental authorities. The politically inefficacious individual cannot be distinguished from the efficacious student on his attitude about the effect the National Government has upon daily affairs but he does see the Provincial Government as having somewhat less bearing upon daily matters than the efficacious student.

The adolescent who denies the adult's duty to vote denies as well his obligation to maintain an interest in politics and community affairs. The same individual is more inclined than not to argue the detrimental nature of the activities of the National Government (though not of the Provincial Government), and to suggest the limited effect of both the Provincial and National Governments upon daily affairs. However, he is neither more nor less politically efficacious, disaffected with Governmental Authorities, or with the amount of say Big Organizations have in decision-making in Canada.

2. Student's Personal Characteristics and His Political Alienation

Turning now to an examination of political alienation

measures and their relationship to other variables, it appears to be the case that there are two useful sets of "predicting" variables: one is a set of "personal characteristics" of the respondent -- most notably his age, amount of political information, political interest and participative orientations, and somewhat less importantly, his feelings of social trust and social isolation. The second set of variables is the set of "family background" traits of the respondent. The major variables here appear to be the politicization of the respondent's parents (their political interest and frequency of discussion of political matters), the political party identification of the respondent and his parents, and the residence of the respondent and his parents.

The respondent's age, his level of politicization, and his political knowledge are all useful "predictors" of whether the individual believes that the provincial and national levels of government tend to "improve conditions" or "make things worse"; have "a great deal" or "some" effect upon daily affairs, or "no effect at all" or "only a little"; and whether the individual perceives a duty to participate (to be interested in politics and to vote).

However, participative orientations have no bearing upon whether the individual is disaffected with Governmental Authorities and dissatisfied with the role of Big Organizations in decision-making, although age and information do.

And none of age, level of Politicization, and amount of Political Information seemingly permit us to predict whether the individual will experience feelings of ineffectiveness in politics.

Knowing whether the student is trusting of people generally and/or is both physically and psychologically isolated from people seems to be useful in guessing the individual's likely satisfaction with the policy outputs of the Provincial and National Governments. Social trust is related to Disaffection with Governmental Authorities and social isolation seemingly helps us to estimate the individual's likelihood of feeling ineffective vis-a-vis political authorities. However, a gauge of the student's misanthropic and isolationist sentiments appears to be not as valuable as knowing his age, participative orientations, and level of political information when it comes to speculating about his attitudes regarding a duty to participate, the relevance upon daily matters of the two governments, and satisfaction with the role of Big Organizations in decision-making in Canada.

We can now attempt a profile of the alienated adolescent in terms of his personal characteristics. He is more likely to be the junior high school student than the senior high school student; more likely to be poorly informed about politics and Government than well-informed; is more likely to be only a little or not at all interested in politics

than interested somewhat or very much; unlikely to discuss politics with his friends, and, if he does, to remain passive in those discussions rather than taking an active part; more likely to be distrustful than trustful of people; and more likely to spend his spare time alone rather than with friends and family, and to feel apart from the centre of things at school rather than close to what's happening.

3. Student's Background and His Political Alienation

We can elaborate our profile of the alienated adolescent by knowing the intensity of political interest and frequency of discussion of political matters on the part of his parents, their political party identification, and their place of residence. The individual with supportive attitudes whom we described earlier as the older, politically informed student oriented towards political participation, who is trusting in his social relationships and feels a part of curricular happenings may also be the individual who describes his parents as highly politically interested and as engaging in political discussions frequently, and supporting the Progressive Conservative Party. In addition, he is more likely to live in a city than on a farm.

In outlining this pattern of inter-relationships, at least one question arises. To what extent are these two sets of independent variables independent of each other? More specifically, how are the personal characteristics of the respondent related to his background variables?

This question is a vitally important one to answer if we are concerned to determine which of the relationships outlined earlier are spurious. An example should suffice to show this. We have found that the student who is highly politicized believes the National Government improves conditions. But so does the student whose parents are politically active and who identify with the Progressive Conservative or Liberal Parties. Now, is the individual who is highly politicized also the individual whose parents are politically active? And is he the individual who identifies with the Progressive Conservative or Liberal Parties? If the individual who is highly politicized is the same student found in the politically active family, does the individual affirm the tendency of the National Government to improve conditions rather than make things worse, because of his participative orientations and because of his familial political climate? Or, is he holding that particular political attitude as a direct consequence of his level of Politicization, and only as a consequence of his Parents' Political Interest because the latter affects the individual's level of Politicization? In other words, is the effect of Parents' Political Interest upon this particular political attitude confounded with the respondent's Politicization, or is it a spurious relationship? Or are we witnessing a developmental phenomenon -- that is, does Parents' Political Interest only affect the respondent's

political attitude through the intervening variable of respondent's level of Politicization?

The foregoing example should reveal the importance of knowing how the various personal characteristics of the respondent interact with his background traits in affecting his political attitudes. However, rather than elaborating upon the inter-relationships of personal characteristics, background variables, and personal and background variables in the body of this paper, only a table outlining these statistical relationships will be given here. Table 8.1 does this. As well, a few tables outlining what are regarded as highly significant relationships between personality and background variables are given in Appendix C.

B. Regression of Independent Variables Upon Political Alienation Measures

Out of this multiple number of inter-relationships of variables, we seek not a causal explanation of how these personality, background and political alienation variables are inter-related, but only a more parsimonious diagrammatic presentation of the most important relationships among these many. Our interests are two-fold: firstly, to ascertain, very generally, the relative importance of these independent variables in accounting for the variance in each of those dependent variables posited here to be measures of political alienation. And secondly, in achieving the former goal, to shed light upon the nature of all associations --

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	1.000									
2	.4231	1.000								
3	.3125	.6613	1.000							
4	.5576	.2349	.1080*	1.000						
5	.3261			.3804	1.000					
6	.2941					1.000				
7				.1735	.1933		1.000			
8								1.000		
9					.3288				1.000	
10										1.000

* significant at .003 level
** significant at .002 level

their direct, intervening, or confounding nature.

The tool utilized in this task is that of multiple regression.¹ In order to use the multiple regression technique, all variables at the nominal level of measurement were converted to ordinal level variables by means of dummy variables.² The version of multiple regression used here is stepwise regression. As explained in the manual which gives a computer program for its execution,

The method constructs a prediction equation one variable at a time. The first step is to choose the single variable which is the best predictor. The second variable brought in is the one which provides the best prediction in conjunction with the first variable. You then proceed in stepwise fashion, adding the best variable at each step until you have the desired number of independent variables in the equation or until additional variables no longer make a significant addition to the prediction equation.³

This multiple regression procedure orders the independent variables by their relative capacity to account for variance in the dependent variable. By assessing the proportion of variance of the dependent variable accounted for by each independent variable, the relative importance of each of the independent variables in predicting the dependent variable can be ascertained.⁴

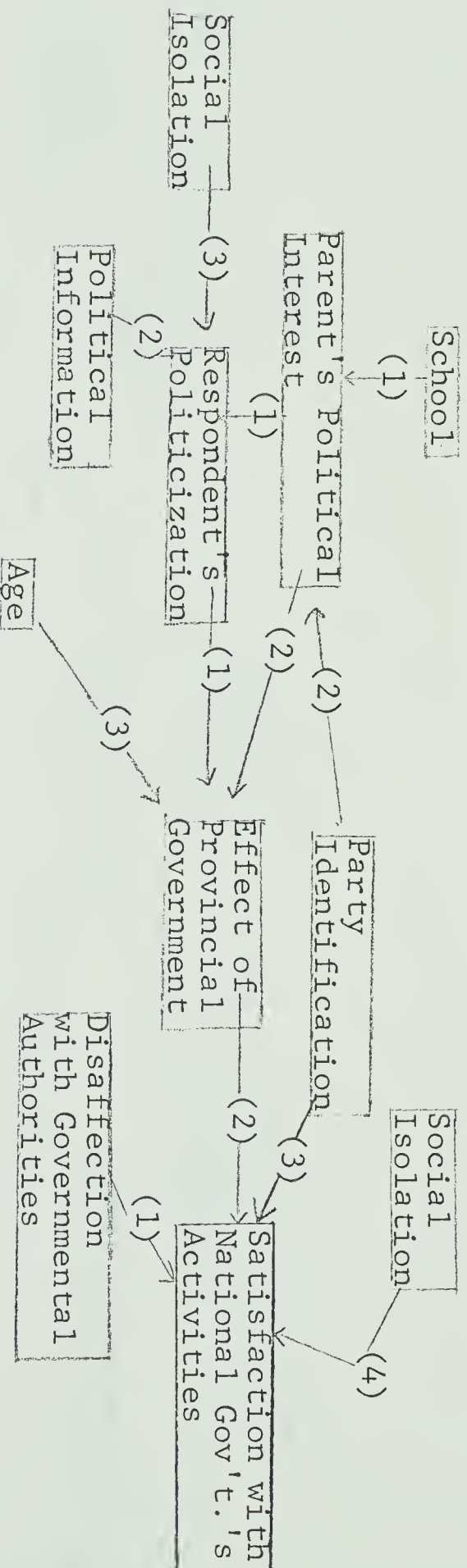
Insofar as we are not aiming at any causal analysis or seeking to "explain" political alienation feelings, neither regression equations nor relative numerical proportions of variance accounted for by each of the indepen-

dent variables will be given. These linkages of independent variables to a dependent variable (political alienation measure) represent prediction equations in the sense that only those independent variables that directly account for the largest proportion of variance in the dependent variable are linked to the dependent variable in the diagrams given.⁵ These linkages have been arrived at after all variables which had been found earlier to be associated with a given dependent variable have been regressed upon that dependent variable.

The following diagrams present schematically the major linkages of independent variables and Dissatisfaction with National Government's Activities, Belief in a Duty to be Politically Interested, Dissatisfaction with Provincial Government's Activities, Political Inefficacy, and Disaffection with Governmental Authorities. Duty to Vote and Disaffection with Influence of Big Organizations have been omitted from this analysis, owing to their somewhat more limited relation to the independent variables examined here.

DIAGRAM 8-1

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES MOST USEFUL IN PREDICTING SATISFACTION
WITH NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'S ACTIVITIES



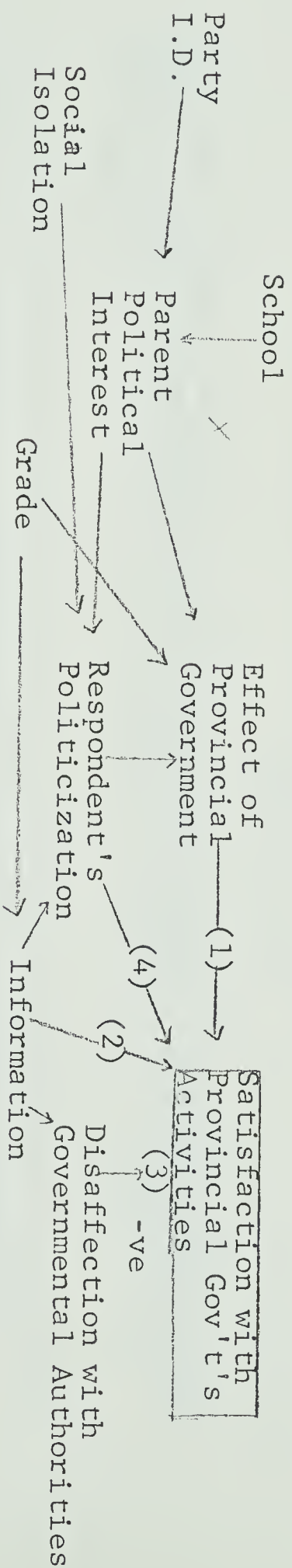
All linkages represent positive associations unless specified.

——(1)——> strongest predictor (accounts for largest proportion of variance)

——(2)——> second strongest predictor (accounts for second largest proportion of variance)

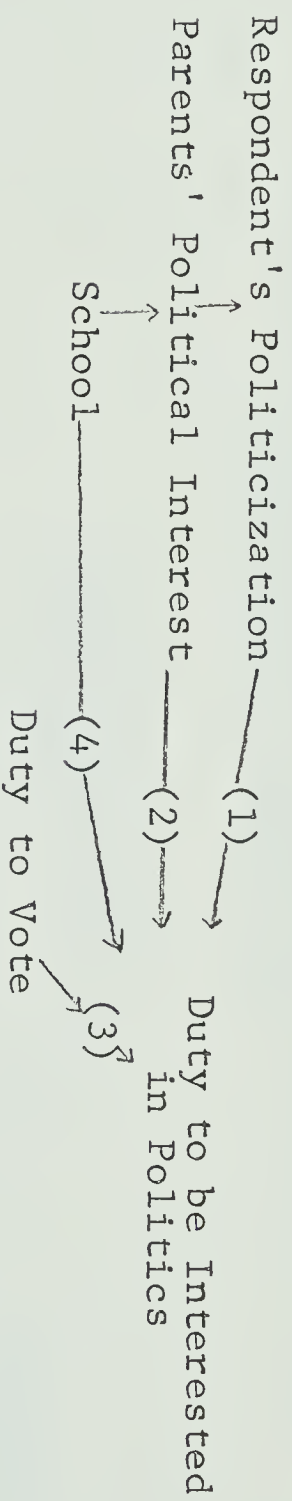
——(3)——> third strongest predictor (accounts for third largest proportion of variance)

DIAGRAM 8-2
LINKAGES OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES TO SATISFACTION WITH PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT'S ACTIVITIES



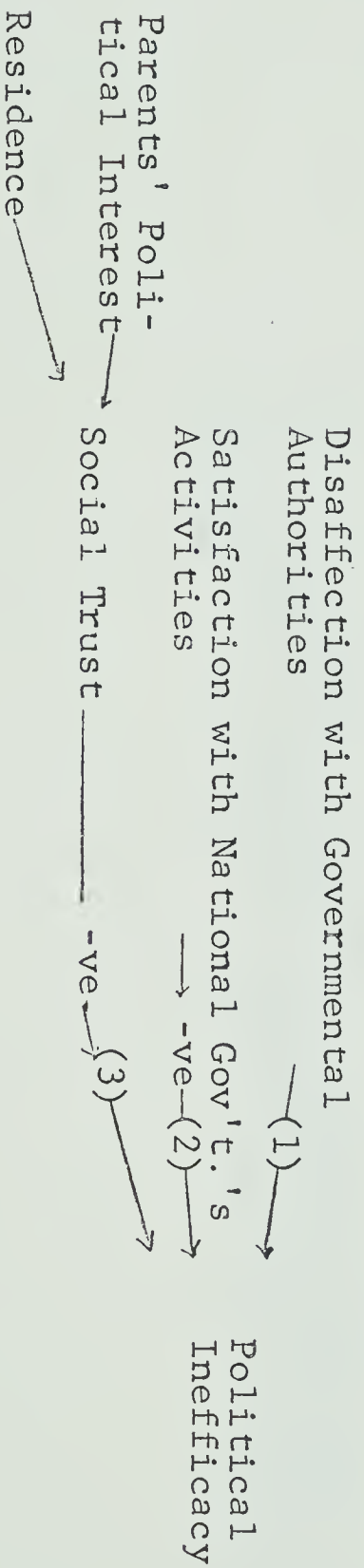
Only the relative strength of direct predictive linkages to Satisfaction with Provincial Government's Activities is given. The other linkages are as presented in Diagram 8-1.

DIAGRAM 8-3 LINKAGES OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES TO CITIZEN DUTY
TO BE INTERESTED IN POLITICS



Only the relative strength of directly related variables predicting Belief in Duty to be Interested in Politics is given. Variables indirectly related to Belief in Duty to be Interested in Politics are excluded from this diagram.

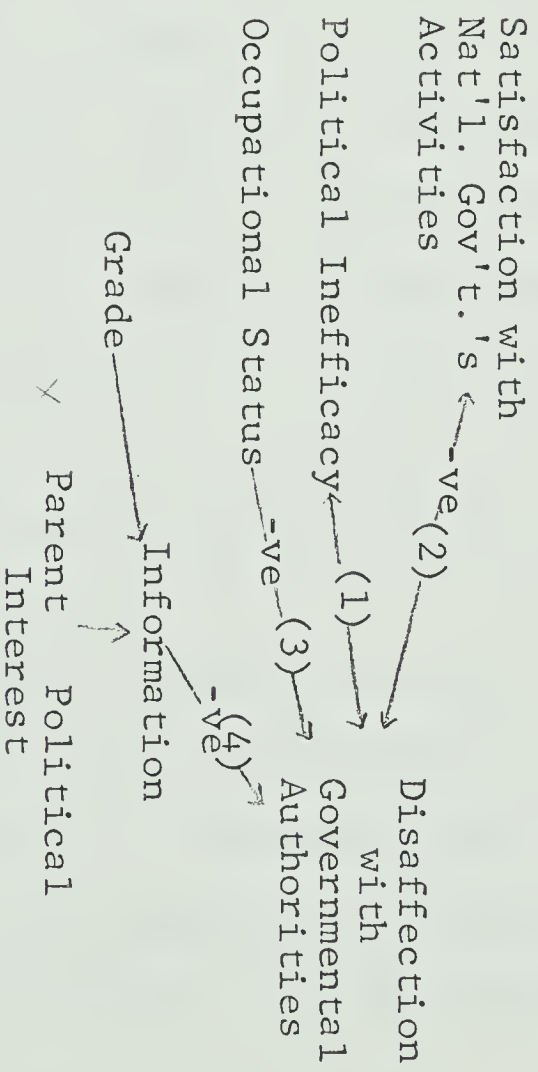
DIAGRAM 8-4 LINKAGES OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES TO POLITICAL INEFFICACY



Only the relative strength of variables directly predicting Political Inefficacy is given.

DIAGRAM 8-5

LINKAGES OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES TO DISAFFECTION WITH
GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORITIES



Only the relative strength of variables which directly predict Disaffection with Governmental Authorities are outlined. Variables indirectly related to Political Inefficacy through any of the variables given here are excluded.

Several things of interest emerge from this regression analysis. These are outlined below in point form for both emphasis and clarity.

1) Other political alienation attitudes are generally more useful than personality and/or background variables in directly accounting for Satisfaction with the Activities of the National Government, Political Inefficacy, and Disaffection with Governmental Authorities.

2) The effect upon political alienation attitudes of personality and background type variables is not direct, for the most part, but mediated through a Sense of Relevance of the Provincial Government. There are, however, exceptions to this. Party Identification has a direct bearing upon the belief that the National Government worsens things, as do feelings of social isolation. Political Inefficacy is directly accounted for to some degree by feelings of social distrust. Disaffection with Governmental Authorities varies directly as occupational status and level of political information vary. And level of political information and politicization are both useful in predicting Satisfaction with the Provincial Government's Activities.

3) Personality and background variables are more useful than alienation attitudes in accounting for variance in Satisfaction with the Activities of the Provincial Government and Belief in a Duty to be Interested in Politics. This would imply at least two things: one, that belief in

a citizen duty is not akin to political alienation / political support as those concepts are used here; and two, that adolescents studied here orient themselves quite differently toward the two levels of Government. Satisfaction with the Provincial Government is a function of political information, political awareness, and perception of the relevance of the Provincial Government (the latter is a function of political awareness and an active familial political environment). However, dissatisfaction with the National Government's activities is a function of non-Liberal Party identification, social isolation (both of which have been found to be associated with residence), Disaffection with Governmental Authorities, and a sense of the Relevance of Provincial Government. Only the latter variable is a function of political knowledge, political awareness, and familial political climate. In short, it appears as though negative sentiments towards the National Government are not so easily manipulable and alterable by political knowledge and awareness.

4) Residence, and variables which differ across residence, like parents' Political Interest and Party Identification, are intervening variables, in the sense that their effect upon political alienation attitudes is mediated by other variables: Parents' Political Interest in the case of Residence, and Respondent's Politicization, in the case of Parents' Political Interest, and then by Sense of Relevance

of Provincial Government.

5) The importance of a sense of the relevance of the Provincial Government in accounting for satisfaction with the activities of the Provincial and National Governments should be stressed. And that belief is a function of the respondent's politicization, age, and his parents' political interest. However, Satisfaction with the Activities of the National Government is accounted for almost as well by Political Party Identification. This would suggest that negativism toward the National Government, manifested in dissatisfaction with the policy outcomes of that Government, is a function of both rational considerations and political unawareness. Feelings of alienation are not accompanied by a perception of the relevance of Governmental activities upon daily affairs, and it is the individual who does not perceive the salience of Governmental action and the individual who is politically unaware and ill-informed who is most dissatisfied with Governmental authorities. But if the relating of Political Party Identification to alienation feelings can be taken to mean that positive sentiments regarding Governmental policies are contingent upon the party label of that Government pursuing those policies, then political support may be interpreted to be contingent upon rational (that is, calculation of personal benefit) factors.

6) Residence has no direct effect upon political alien-

ation feelings; rather, its effect is mediated through political party identification. This suggests that if the political socialization process which gives rise to negativism feelings is a consequence of different social climates, it is not because residence directly affects political attitudes and attitudes toward the Government, but because different individuals residing in different environments assume different levels of political awareness and Political Party Identification which in turn result in different political attitudes.

Chapter 8: Notes

1. Knowledge of multiple regression is drawn from the following sources: Hayward Alker, Jr., Mathematics and Politics (New York, 1965), 68 - 80; 96 - 107; Hubert Blalock, Causal Inferences in Non-Experimental Research (Chapel Hill, 1964), Chapters 1 - 3; Hubert Blalock, Social Statistics (New York, 1959), Chapters 18, 19; N.R. Draper and H. Smith, op.cit., 104 - 127; Dennis J. Palumbo, Statistics in Political and Behavioral Science (New York, 1970); Chapter 10; R. J. Rummel, Applied Factor Analysis, 41 - 42; 89 - 91.
2. See note 21, Chapter 7.
3. N. Nie and D. Bent, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.
4. The square of the Beta weight is interpreted as the relative percentage of variance accounted for by each of the independent variables.
5. If the change in the square of the multiple correlation coefficient (coefficient of multiple determination-- R^2) is less than .01 (1%) when an independent variable is added to the regression equation, then that independent variable is not regarded as contributing significantly to the prediction equation, and not regarded as directly accounting for variance in the dependent variable.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Two broad goals have guided this research: one, to examine the political alienation of adolescents in a Western Canadian province; and two, to throw light upon the nature of the political socialization process in that province, and, hence, in Canada. We began this research by stressing its exploratory nature; indeed, it was argued that such an approach was necessary in order to allow us not to assume that adolescents were politically alienated, but to search out such feelings and to explore their nature. What have we discovered about Western Canadian adolescents sampled here? Are they politically alienated? If so, what is the nature of these alienation feelings? Are adolescents alienated qua unawareness or alienated in their awareness of powerlessness and Governmental non-responsiveness?

There seems to be justification for arguing that the notion of political alienation is not an entirely meaningless concept among the adolescents sampled here. "Negative" sentiments exist which are not simply random responses failing to indicate a clearly cognized picture of Governmental Authorities. Two political alienation variables, Dissatisfaction with National Government's Outcomes, and Disaffection with the Power of Governmental Authorities, account for the largest proportion of the

variance of Political Inefficacy Feelings. The two best "predictors" of Disaffection with the Power of Governmental Authorities are Political Inefficacy and Dissatisfaction with the Activities of the National Government. This means that the individual who feels that Government Institutions (The Prime Minister, Cabinet, Liberal Party) have too much say in deciding how Canada shall be run and what laws shall be passed, tends to be the same individual who is dissatisfied with the outputs of the National Government and the same individual who feels politically powerless vis-à-vis those Governmental Authorities.

Hence, we have found expressions of antagonism here. What is the nature of these negative sentiments? Firstly, they appear to be directed more towards the Federal Government than the Provincial Government. Adolescents sampled here feel that the Provincial Government is both more relevant and more satisfactory at improving conditions than is the National Government. And secondly, these negative sentiments appear to be not simply specific, but diffuse. That is, these sentiments seem to be not simply directed at a government at Ottawa (or the political party having a majority in that government). Insofar as non-Liberal Party identifiers were somewhat more disaffected with the National Government than Liberal Party identifiers, these negative sentiments may simply be a reflection of partisan sentiments. However, those individuals who are disaffected

with the activities of the National Government tend to be the same individuals who are disaffected with Governmental Authorities generally, believing them to have too much say in running affairs in this country. Hence, those individuals who withhold specific support may be withholding diffuse support as well.

Another thing that we have noted about the nature of these negative sentiments is that they tend to be held in the absence of information, political awareness, and perception of the relevance of Government. Initially we questioned whether individuals who did not perceive the salience of politics but who had negative feelings towards Political Authorities should be described as politically alienated or apathetic. We are convinced now of the possibility of negativism unaccompanied by a belief in the salience of politics reflecting alienation from the political system; these adolescents do seem to have attitudes either positive or negative -- they are not without opinions. The failure of a belief in the salience of politics to occur alongside negative feelings causes us to speculate whether those individuals whom we are describing as politically alienated might be also characterized as lacking "a sense of community". Are these students judging the merits of the Federal Government's (or for that matter, the Provincial Government's) activities and the Federal Government itself on the basis of its ability or willingness to provide satisfaction of the

individual's (and those groups with whom he identifies) goals, with no consideration to that Government's ability to satisfy the goals of the majority of Canadians, owing to an inability to view political events for their effect upon the wider environment or to an incapacity to identify with the goals of the wider community? The answer to this question must await further data.

It appears unlikely that whatever alienation from the Federal Government which exists will manifest itself as an active force. The inclination for students holding negative attitudes not to affirm the salience of political action generally suggests that the alienated have withdrawn in their discontent.

However, what is disparaging about these negative sentiments (that is, if one holds adolescent alienation to be a "bad" thing) is that they are acquired in the presence of a restricted perception of the political system. This seems to be contrary to the American experience, where strong feelings of affect for political authorities are initially acquired -- prior to political information and political awareness. It is left to various socialization agencies to aid the individual in acquiring the political information and awareness that is necessary for his developing positive attachments.

What has our research enabled us to conclude about the political socialization of adolescents in the Western Canadian province investigated here? The most basic

difference would seem to be that adolescents sampled here hold less positive supportive attitudes than their American counterparts. There are several indications of this. Firstly, the context within which positive sentiments are held appears to be different. As we documented in the early part of this paper, American children first orient themselves very positively toward highly visible Governmental Authorities. These very strong positive sentiments are acquired in the absence of information and political awareness. While our sample, being older, is not comparable to those samples of American children upon which such findings have been made, there is reason to speculate that the initial orientations of adolescents sampled here may not be nearly as positive as those of American children. The reason behind such speculation is that it is the ill-informed and younger adolescent (particularly the Grade seven student) who possesses the least positive orientations towards Government and politics.

A second difference concerns the raw frequencies of positive attitudes and participative orientations. Inefficacy feelings seem to be proportionately more prevalent here than have been noted on American samples; as well, those feelings of political inefficacy do not diminish with increasing age. Students overwhelmingly temper their praise of the Governments' activities. As well, their notion of citizenship seems not to entail an

obligation to participate by voting should that act inconvenience one.

What does all this mean with regard to legitimacy beliefs of Western Canadian adolescents, and, hence, the stability of the Canadian political system? We would suggest that while there appears to be dissatisfaction within this sample, illegitimacy beliefs are not frequent. And what dissatisfaction exists tends to be coupled with low political interest, low political information, and low participative orientations. This being the case, it is probably likely that negative sentiments are either articulated only at the polls or not at all. It is likely that disenchanted adolescents, like hostile adults, leave the political arena for the more politically satisfied adolescents.

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APPENDIX A

Table 4.4 Factor Analysis of Political Cynicism, Political Efficacy, Sense of Relevance of Provincial (National) Government, Satisfaction with Provincial (National) Government's Activities, and two Citizen Duty Items
(N = 1354)

Item	Unrotated Axis Factor	Varimax Rotated Factors					h ²
		1	2	3	4	5	
Satisf. with Nat'l. Gov't.	.490	.146	.059	(.774)	.070	.051	.636
Relevance of Prov. Gov't.	.479	.032	(.862)	.197	.06	.001	.786
Relevance of Nat'l. Gov't.	.443	.042	(.883)	.035	.121	.039	.798
Satisf. with Prov. Gov't.	.458	.042	.151	(.757)	.035	.048	.605
Citizen Duty	.318	.154	.206	.186	(.648)	.219	.570
Political Cynicism	.392	(.453)	.018	.177	.318	.104	.358
Political Inefficacy	.268	(.526)	.165	.160	.285	.140	.430
Political Cynicism	.529	(.620)	.155	.233	.050	.216	.512
Citizen Duty	.135	.070	.048	.003	(.792)	.095	.644
Political Inefficacy	.540	(.693)	.077	.047	.211	.018	.539
Political Cynicism	.233	(.714)	.115	.097	.077	(.791)	.657
Political Inefficacy	.392	.267	.131	.158	.012	(.607)	.485
Political Inefficacy	.299	.188	.107	.107	.138	.347	.366
Political Inefficacy	.587	(.579)	.036	.178	.115	.224	.432
Dissatisfaction with Influence Distribution	.070	.005	.067	.063	.090	.070	.863
Eigenvalues	2.438	1.843	1.698	1.441	1.347	1.310	1.042 8.681

Table 4.5 Factor Analysis of Political Cynicism and Political Efficacy Measures, and 16 individual items measuring attitudes about the Distribution of Political Influence (N = 1354)

Item	Unrotated Axis Factor	Varimax Rotated Factors						h ²
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
Infl. of P.M.	.463	.351	.194	.112	.073	.594	.116	.546
Infl. of Big Companies	.035	.107	.044	.143	.721	.090	.081	.568
Infl. of Farmers	.167	.022	.172	.291	.212	.017	.534	.445
Infl. of House of Commons	.601	.678	.153	.060	.170	.013	.015	.516
Infl. of Father	.180	.049	.043	.559	.203	.494	.038	.604
Infl. of Cabinet	.609	.718	.079	.008	.026	.027	.051	.526
Infl. of Rich People	.021	.119	.089	.007	.720	.008	.055	.544
Infl. of High School Students	.213	.006	.092	.700	.014	.106	.043	.512
Infl. of NDP	.569	.716	.023	.032	.019	.042	.006	.516
Infl. of Governor- General	.455	.606	.003	.038	.117	.002	.033	.383
Infl. of Working People	.250	.093	.090	.493	.224	.131	.302	.418
Infl. of Labour Unions	.255	.327	.030	.055	.274	.512	.082	.455
Infl. of Liberal Party	.609	.685	.139	.047	.140	.030	.019	.512
Infl. of Indian, Metis Association	.130	.059	.053	.111	.475	.034	.110	.257
Infl. of Yourself	.262	.025	.094	.757	.050	.086	.018	.593
Infl. of Businessmen	.215	.175	.095	.221	.178	.581	.075	.463
Political Cynicism	.344	.053	.589	.033	.157	.025	.019	.376
Political Efficacy	.179	.092	.472	.095	.163	.230	.067	.325
Political Cynicism	.504	.155	.618	.044	.104	.114	.172	.461
Political Efficacy	.355	.090	.536	.058	.078	.064	.050	.311
Political Cynicism	.366	.061	.374	.063	.114	.063	.502	.416
Political Cynicism	.166	.068	.242	.018	.073	.008	.425	.249
Political Efficacy	.472	.167	.586	.042	.006	.205	.113	.428
Political Efficacy	.233	.037	.102	.021	.108	.080	.647	.448
Eigenvalues	3.184	2.708	1.957	1.832	1.676	1.369	1.332	10.874

Table 4.6 Factor Analysis of Items measuring Dissatisfaction with Perceived Distribution of Political Influence (Listwise Deletion of Cases with Missing Values)

Item	Unrotated Factor Matrix	Rotated Factor Matrix (Varimax)				h ²
		1	2	3	4	
Prime Minister	.456	(.524)	.014	.315	.338	.488
Big Companies	.219	.027	.125	(.755)	.004	.586
Farmers	.297	.028	.164	.055	(.755)	.601
House of Commons	.585	(.690)	.098	.080	.011	.493
Father	.421	.125	(.682)	.021	.101	.492
Cabinet	.621	(.716)	.025	.073	.040	.520
Rich People	.151	.068	.031	(.659)	.178	.471
High School Students	.353	.012	(.654)	.078	.137	.452
New Democratic Party	.603	(.694)	.074	.105	.056	.502
Governor-General	.466	(.588)	.031	.007	.072	.352
Working People	.382	.038	.340	.117	(.566)	.451
Labour Unions	.295	.172	.065	(.499)	.189	.319
Liberal Party	.627	(.672)	.038	.131	.108	.482
Indian, Metis	.228	.046	.092	.355	(.454)	.343
Yourself	.416	.068	(.778)	.053	.042	.615
Businessmen	.278	.055	.307	(.479)	.059	.330
Eigenvalues	2.905	2.605	1.782	1.774	1.334	7.496

Table 4.7 A Comparison of the Factor Matrices Derived from the Factor Analysis of Political Cynicism and Political Efficacy Items with Listwise Deletion and Pairwise Deletion of Cases with Missing Values and the Inclusion of all Cases with Estimates of Missing Values (Varimax Factors)

Item	Listwise Deletion			Pairwise Deletion			Estimates from Modal Values		
	1	2	h^2	1	2	h^2	1	2	h^2
Political Cynicism	.552	.089	.313	.539	.124	.306	.519	.188	.304
Political Efficacy	.435	.036	.191	.503	.096	.262	.486	.020	.236
Political Cynicism	.660	.215	.482	.611	.292	.459	.601	.319	.462
Political Efficacy	.623	.117	.402	.641	.102	.421	.652	.017	.426
Political Cynicism	.299	.558	.400	.225	.646	.468	.216	.659	.480
Political Efficacy	.144	.457	.229	.171	.383	.176	.184	.362	.165
Political Efficacy	.618	.215	.428	.581	.268	.410	.565	.308	.413
Political Cynicism	.113	.836	.712	.117	.803	.658	.128	.802	.659
Eigenvalues	1.822	1.335	3.157	1.759	1.401	3.160	1.707	1.439	3.146

APPENDIX B

A. Development of Measures of Politicization, Parents' Political Interest, Parents' Political Activity

Each student responded to a battery of questions designed to gauge his perception of aspects of his, his friends' and his parents' politicization. These questions are outlined below.

1. Thinking back over the last three months or so, would you say you have followed what is going on in government and politics? That is, how interested have you been in government and politics?

☐ very interested	☐ fairly interested
☐ interested only a little	☐ not interested at all
2. How often do you watch the news on television or listen to it attentively on the radio and/or read the news section of the newspaper?

☐ nearly every day	☐ one or two times a month
☐ a few times a week	☐ almost never
☐ about once a week	☐ never
3. How interested are your mother, your father, and your close friends in politics?

	father	mother	close friends
very interested	☐	☐	☐
fairly interested	☐	☐	☐
interested only a little	☐	☐	☐
not interested at all	☐	☐	☐
4. How often do your parents discuss political and community affairs with each other and/or with their friends?

	father	mother
about two or three times a week	☐	☐
about once a week	☐	☐
a couple of times a month or so	☐	☐
almost never	☐	☐
never	☐	☐
5. How often do your parents participate in political activities, like going to political meetings, election rallies, talking to politicians, and so on?

	father	mother
very often	[]	[]
sometimes	[]	[]
hardly ever	[]	[]
never	[]	[]

6. How often do you discuss political affairs and news events with your father, your mother, your friends, and your teachers?

	father	mother	friends	teachers (in or out of class)
about two or three times/week	[]	[]	[]	[]
about once a week	[]	[]	[]	[]
a couple of times a month or so	[]	[]	[]	[]
almost never	[]	[]	[]	[]
never	[]	[]	[]	[]

7. When you and your friends discuss political matters, what part do you usually take?

- [] just listen
- [] express an opinion once in a while
- [] take an equal share in the conversation
- [] try to convince others
- [] never discuss political matters with friends

B. Development of Political Information Scale

The student answered seven political information questions. Four of the questions necessitated the child's supplying names of political leaders; the other three questions were designed to measure the student's understanding of the Canadian parliamentary and federal systems. The political information questions are outlined below.

1. The Prime Minister of Canada is _____ don't know []
2. The Premier of Alberta is _____ don't know []
3. The province in Canada which has an NDP (New Democratic Party) Government is _____ don't know []

4. The National Leader of the Progressive Conservative Party is _____ don't know []
5. Voters in Canada do not vote directly for the Prime Minister, but for members of political parties. True [] False [] don't know []
6. There are at least two governments that make laws for the citizens of Alberta: a Provincial Government and a Federal Government. True [] False [] don't know []
7. The members of the Cabinet belong to the political party that has the largest number of members in the House of Commons. True [] False [] don't know []

All these items measuring the individual's politicization, those measuring his environmental political climate, and the political information questions were jointly factor-analyzed. It was hoped that the mathematical technique of factor analysis would provide some indication of the uni-dimensionality of these items. The political information items did not load significantly on the unrotated factor, indicating that these questions were measuring something quite different from the politicization and political climate items.

When only the various "politicization" variables were factor-analyzed, all items measuring aspects of the individual's politicization and the politicization of the environmental climate surrounding him, loaded highly enough on the unrotated factor to warrant belief in the uni-dimensionality of the items. (A loading of .400 or greater is accepted as a significant loading.) However, upon rotating three factors by Varimax Solution, three distinct factors

emerged. (Factors with at least two significant loadings are regarded as interpretable.) Only one item, that measuring the respondent's perception of the intensity of his friends' political interest, failed to load significantly on any of the three factors. A second item tapping frequency of media consumption was also discarded because, although this item loaded significantly on a factor, it loaded somewhat less highly than did the other items. (Remaining items loaded from .637 to .805.) Both the unrotated factor and the rotated factor matrix are outlined below.

Factor Loadings. Results of Factor Analysis
of 14 items measuring Student's Politicization,
Parents' Political Interest, and Parents'
Political Activity (N = 1354)

Unrotated Factor		Varimax Rotated Factors		
1	1	2	3	h^2
.657	.611	.304	.085	.472
.416	.424	.187	.027	.216
.587	.103	.743	.182	.596
.564	.063	.762	.163	.611
.497	.307	.377	.138	.255
.713	.338	.729	.061	.649
.686	.307	.741	.020	.643
.476	.130	.170	.915	.883
.458	.098	.179	.916	.880
.740	.706	.300	.138	.608
.748	.738	.302	.082	.642
.665	.805	.068	.125	.668
.476	.646	.027	.075	.423
.591	.637	.190	.034	.443
Eigen-5.056	3.410	2.765	1.815	7.990
values				

Loadings $\geq .50$ are shown in parentheses

The three factors that emerged were labelled thus: Factor 1 -- Politicization: the individual's political interest; frequency of political discussion with his friends, parents, and teachers; and his role in political conversations with his friends; Factor 2 -- Parents' Political Interest: parents' political interest and discussion of political matters; Factor 3 -- Parents' Political Activity: frequency of parents' participation in political meetings and election rallies, and discussions with politicians.

The method of summated ratings was used to construct scales of Parents' Political Interest, Parents' Political Activity, and Politicization. However, prior to application of the Likert technique, the Method of Reciprocal Averages (which has already been explained in reference to its application to the Political Alienation measures) was used in order to maximize the internal consistency of these measures of Politicization, Parents' Political Interest, and Parents' Political Activity.

Scalogram analysis of the battery of seven Political Information items proved ineffective. Item-scale correlations ranged from .2454 to .4761. The face validity of all seven items assured us that each was tapping information different in nature from the other items and hence convinced us not to delete those items that did not inter-correlate highly with the remaining items, but rather to

construct a Likert-type scale of Political Information by the Method of Summated Ratings.

C. Development of Social Trust and Social Isolation Measures

Three items from Rosenberg's "faith in people" scale are used to indicate degree of social trust. These three items are:

1. "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?"
2. "Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?"
3. "Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?"

Social isolation is tapped by items which seek to determine the extent to which an individual feels close to the centre of things at school, engages in social activities, and spends his spare time alone or in the company of friends and family. The item questioning feelings of closeness to the centre of things at school represented an effort to distinguish non-voluntary social isolation (into which bracket the rural student who is bussed to and from school may fall) and voluntary isolation.

The three social trust and four social isolation items were conjointly factor-analyzed. When two factors were rotated by Varimax Solution, all the misanthropy items loaded on one factor and all the social isolation

items on another factor. The rotated factor and the unrotated factor matrices are presented below.

Factor Analysis of Social Isolation and Misanthropy Items. (N = 1354)				
Item	Unrotated Axis	1	Rotated Factors 2	h^2
People can be trusted	.388	-.002	.703	.494
Friends with after school	.554	.703	-.055	.497
People try to be helpful	.431	.071	.671	.455
Participate in Activities	.544	.569	.128	.340
People take advantage	-.480	-.078	-.747	.565
Spend spare time alone	.496	-.600	.006	.361
Close to centre of things	.678	.732	.125	.551
Eigenvalues	1.876	1.725	1.537	3.263

Factors 1 and 2 were labelled Social Isolation and Social Trust, respectively. The items in the two separate factors were then subjected to scalogram analysis. A frequency distribution of the Isolation Scale formed by Guttman analysis raised skepticism as to its ability to discriminate isolated individuals from non-isolated individuals: 88% of the students scored as "not isolated" or "only a little isolated". Because there was variance in the individual indicators of social isolation, recourse was had to them. Since "feelings of closeness to the centre of things at school" and "how one spends his spare time" proved to be the most useful indicators of social isolation, variance of responses across each of these

two items was maximized by the Reciprocal Averages Method of Scaling. These two measures of Social Isolation were then employed as separate indicators for this research:

1. "How do you spend most of your spare time after school and on the week-ends?"
 - ☐ do things with friends
 - ☐ do things with family
 - ☐ do things with friends and family
 - ☐ do things by myself
2. "How close do you usually feel to the centre of things at school?"
 - ☐ very close ☐ sometimes left out
 - ☐ fairly close ☐ left out most of time

The three items measuring social trust did not Guttman scale. A review of the frequency distributions of the three items suggested why: approximately equal numbers of students had responded so as to be "distrusting" as had responded so as to be "trusting". Following application of the Reciprocal Averages Scaling Technique, a Likert-type scale of the three Social Trust items was constructed. The trichotomization of the population into groups "High", "Medium", and "Low" on Social Trust followed.

D. Frequency Distributions of Politicization, Political Information, Social Isolation, and Social Trust

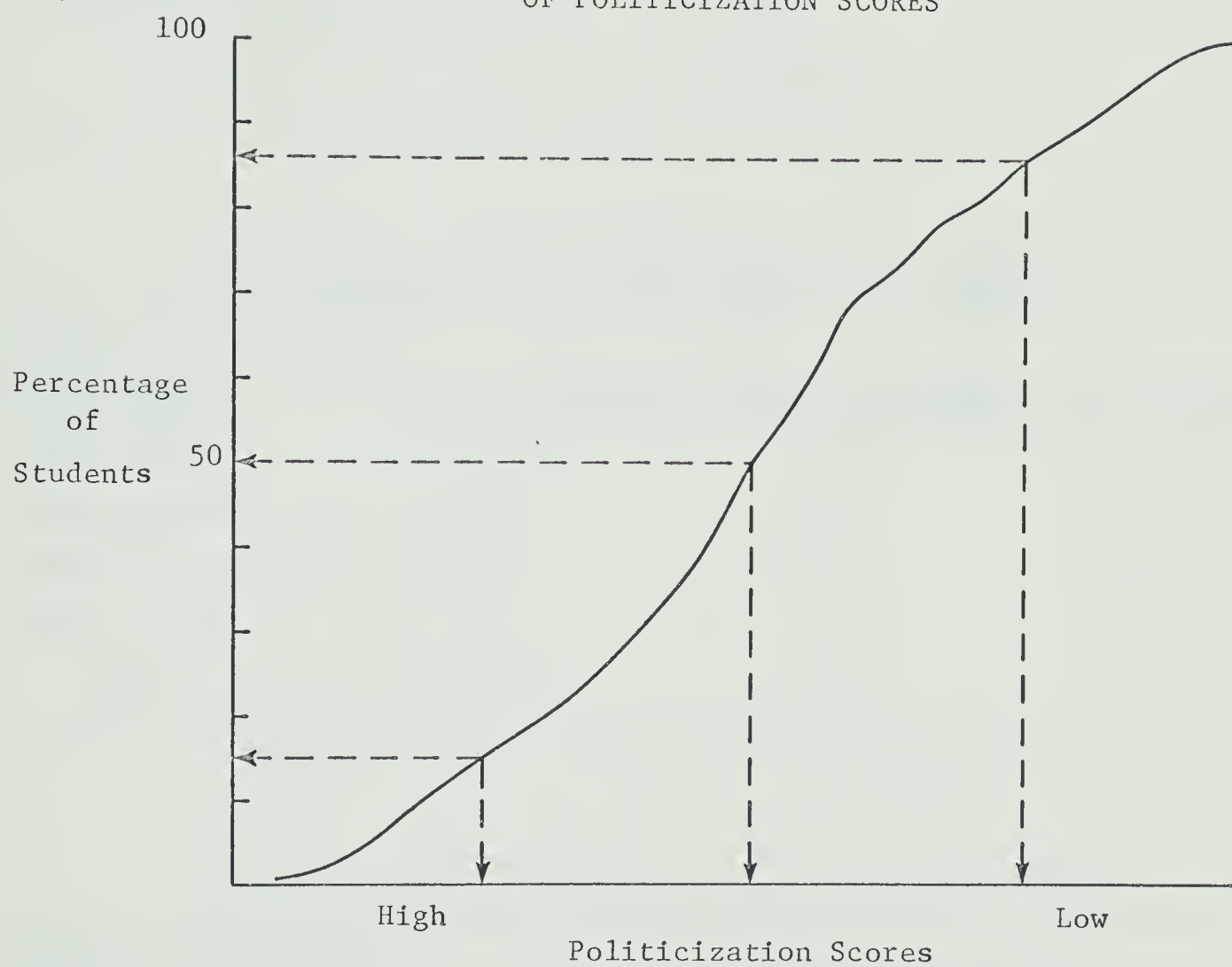
The mean Politicization score, on a range of 0.0 to 24.0, was 16.0, indicating, since low scores represent High Politicization, the generally low level of Politicization within the population as a whole. Only 8% of the students reported discussing politics at least once a week, being at least fairly interested in politics, and assuming

an active role in political discussions with their friends. On the other hand, over three-fifths of the students (62%) characterized themselves as only a little or not at all politically interested; as almost never or never discussing politics with their parents, teachers, and friends; as almost never or never following politics in the media, and as being passive in discussions with their friends. See Figure 6.8.

There is a normal distribution of Political Information scores over the population, suggesting that questions were neither too difficult nor too easy. Less than 8% of the students answered all seven questions correctly, and fewer than 16% knew only two pieces of information.

Junior and senior high school students here do not seem to be physically isolated from their fellow students; however, sentiments of exclusion from school affairs are frequent enough to suggest a certain pervasiveness of psychological feelings of isolation. Only 7% of the students reported spending their spare time by themselves, but 42% felt left out of the centre of things "sometimes" or "most of the time". See Figure 6.13 in Appendix C.

Figure 6.8
A 'LESS THAN' CUMULATIVE FREQUENCY POLYGON
OF POLITICIZATION SCORES



APPENDIX C

Figure 6.13 Distribution of Sample Scores on Feelings of Being Close to the Centre of Things at School (N = 1335)

How close do you feel to the centre of things at school?	Frequency
Very close	8.1%
Fairly close	49.7
Sometimes left out	31.2
Left out most of time	11.0
Total	100.0%

Table 6.4 Sense of Relevance of Provincial Government by Politicization (N = 1354)

Sense of Relevance of Provincial Government	Level of Politicization		
	High (N=527)	Medium (N=480)	Low (N=347)
Great Deal	31.1%	20.8%	11.8%
Fair Amount	50.9	48.3	44.4
Only a Little	16.9	24.6	29.1
Not at all	1.1	6.3	14.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Gamma = .3513 df = 6 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 6.5 Satisfaction with the Activities of the Provincial Government by Politicization

Satisfaction with Provincial Government	Level of Politicization		
	High (N=527)	Medium (N=480)	Low (N=347)
High	24.9%	16.5%	12.1%
Medium	71.9	79.4	74.6
Low	3.2	4.2	13.3
Total	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%

Gamma = .3264 df = 4 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 6.6 Belief in Citizen Duty to be Interested in Politics by Politicization (N = 1354)

Belief in Citizen Duty to be Interested in Politics	Level of Politicization		
	High (N=527)	Medium (N=480)	Low (N=347)
Agree strongly	61.7%	43.1%	25.6%
	33.4	46.7	58.8
	3.8	6.9	11.0
Disagree strongly	1.1	3.3	4.6
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Gamma = .4156 df = 6 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 6.8 Sense of Relevance of Provincial Government by Political Information (N=1342)

Relevance of Provincial Government	Level of Information		
	High (N=315)	Medium (N=605)	Low (N=422)
Great Deal	29.8%	24.1%	14.9%
Fair Amount	49.8	50.1	44.8
Only a Little	18.1	19.5	30.8
Not at All	2.2	6.3	9.5
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0%

Gamma = .2563 df = 6 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 6.10 Satisfaction with Provincial Government by Political Information (N=1342)

Satisfaction with Provincial Government	Level of Political Information		
	High (N=315)	Medium (N=605)	Low (N=422)
Improves conditions	26.7%	20.5%	10.4%
Sometimes improves	69.5	74.9	80.1
Makes things worse	3.8	4.6	9.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Gamma = .3166 df = 4 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 6.13 Dissatisfaction with the Political Influence of Big Organizations by Information

Dissatisfaction with Political Influence of Big Organizations	Level of Information		
	Low(N=422)	Medium (N=605)	High (N=315)
Low	20.1%	17.7%	8.6%
Medium	62.1	53.2	45.7
High	17.8	29.1	45.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Gamma = .3142 df = 4 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 6.14 Satisfaction with National Government's Activities by Social Trust

Satisfaction with National Government's Activities	Level of Social Trust		
	High (N=420)	Medium (N=537)	Low (N=397)
Improves conditions	10.7%	7.6%	6.5%
Sometimes improves	80.7	79.3	75.1
Makes things worse	8.6	13.0	18.4
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0

Gamma = .2234 df = 4 chi square statistic significant beyond .0005 level

Table 6.15 Satisfaction with Provincial Government's Activities by Social Trust

Satisfaction with Provincial Government's Activities	Level of Social Trust		
	High (N=420)	Medium (N=537)	Low (N=397)
Improves conditions	23.3%	17.3%	15.4%
Sometimes improves	72.4	78.2	74.3
Makes things worse	4.3	4.5	10.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Gamma = .1991 df = 4 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 6.16 Satisfaction with the Activities of the National Government by How One Spends His Spare Time

Satisfaction with National Government's Activities	How One Spends His Spare Time	
	With Family/Friends (N = 1256)	Alone (N = 98)
Improves conditions	8.8%	2.0%
Sometimes improves	78.8	74.5
Makes things worse	12.4	23.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Gamma = .4180 df = 2 χ^2 significant at .001 level

Table 6.17 Satisfaction with Activities of National Government by Feelings of Closeness to Centre of Things at School

Satisfaction with National Government's Activities	Closeness to Centre of Things			
	Very Close	Fairly Close	Sometimes Left Out	Left Out All Time
Improves conditions	15.7%	9.1%	6.0%	5.5%
Sometimes improves	75.0	78.1	84.2	66.9
Makes things worse	9.3	12.9	9.8	27.6
Total N	(108)	(684)	(417)	(145)
%	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0

Gamma = .1943 df = 6 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 6.18 Political Inefficacy Feelings by Social Trust

Political Inefficacy Feelings	Social Trust		
	High (N=420)	Medium (N=537)	Low (N=397)
High	22.6%	32.4%	37.0%
Medium	36.7	35.9	39.8
Low	40.7	31.7	23.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Gamma = -.2095 df = 4 χ^2 significant at .0001 level

Table 6.19 Disaffection with Governmental Authorities by Social Trust

Disaffection with Governmental Authorities	Social Trust		
	High (N=420)	Medium (N=537)	Low (N=397)
High	28.3%	21.0%	20.2%
Medium	51.9	48.0	45.6
Low	19.8	30.9	34.3
Total	100.0%	99.9%	100.1%

Gamma = .1733 df = 4 χ^2 significant at .0001

Table 7.2 Belief in Duty to be Interested in Politics by Parents' Political Interest

Belief in Duty to be Interested in Politics	Parents' Political Interest		
	High (N=447)	Medium (N=461)	Low (N=446)
Agree strongly	60.4%	46.6%	30.5%
	35.6	46.0	52.2
	3.4	5.6	11.2
Disagree strongly	.7	1.7	6.1
Total	100.1	99.9	100.0

Gamma = .3840 df = 6 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 7.3 Belief in Duty to be Interested in Politics by Parents' Political Activities

Belief in Duty to be Interested in Politics	Parents' Political Activities		
	High (N=399)	Medium (N=482)	Low (N=473)
Agree strongly	55.4%	46.9%	36.8%
	37.8	46.3	48.6
	4.8	5.4	9.7
Disagree strongly	2.0	1.5	4.9
Total	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%

Gamma = .2390 df = 6 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 7.4 Satisfaction with the Activities of the Provincial Government by Parents' Political Interest

Satisfaction with Provincial Government's Activities	Parents' Political Interest		
	High (N=447)	Medium (N=461)	Low (N=446)
Improves conditions	25.5%	15.2%	15.2%
Sometimes improves	71.1	80.9	73.5
Makes things worse	3.4	3.9	11.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%

Gamma = .2689 df = 4 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 7.5 Satisfaction with the Activities
of the National Government by Parents'
Political Interest

Satisfaction with National Govern- ment's Activities	Parents' Political Interest		
	High (N=447)	Medium (N=461)	Low (N=446)
Improves conditions	11.6%	6.5%	6.7%
Sometimes improves	76.5	83.1	75.8
Makes things worse	11.9	10.4	17.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Gamma = .1742 df = 4 χ^2 significant beyond .0005

Table 7.6 Sense of Relevance of National
Government by Parents' Political Interest

Sense of Rele- vance of National Government	Parents' Political Interest		
	High (N=447)	Medium (N=461)	Low (N=446)
Great Deal	27.7%	17.4%	8.5%
Fair Amount	49.4	45.1	33.6
Only a Little	18.6	32.3	41.0
Not at All	4.3	5.2	16.8
Total	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%

Gamma = .4076 df = 6 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 7.7 Sense of Relevance of Provincial
Government by Parents' Political Interest

Sense of Relevance of Provincial Government	Parents' Political Interest		
	High (N=447)	Medium (N=461)	Low (N=446)
Great Deal	32.7%	21.7%	13.2%
Fair Amount	50.6	53.4	40.8
Only a Little	14.5	21.5	32.3
Not at All	2.2	3.5	13.7
Total	100.0%	100.1%	100.0%

Gamma = .3788 df = 6 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 8.2 Parents' Political Interest
by Residence

Parents' Political Interest	Residence	
	Rural School(N=765)	Urban School(N=589)
High	36.5%	28.5%
Medium	36.9	30.4
Low	26.7	41.1
Total	100.1%	100.0%

Gamma = .2223 df = 2 χ^2 significant at .0001

Table 8.3 Parents' Political Interest by
Father's Political Party Identification

Parents' Political Interest	Father's Party Identification						
	Liberal	P.C.	NDP	Social Credit	Other Party	No Party	Don't Know
High	36.3%	45.9%	36.5%	42.6%	14.3%	27.3%	22.6%
Medium	35.1	31.6	40.4	34.4	28.6	24.2	35.1
Low	28.7	22.5	23.1	23.0	57.1	48.5	42.3
Total N	(251)	(320)	(52)	(122)	(14)	(33)	(562)
%	100.1%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Gamma = .2261 df = 12 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

* The measures of association for R's Party I.D. and Mother's Party I.D. and Parents' Political Interest are .1813 .2025, respectively, for 12 df and for chi square beyond .0001 level.

Table 8.4 A Comparison of Father's Party Identification over Rural-Urban Populations
(N = 792)*

Party Identification	Residence			
	Rural	Urban	Total N	%
Liberal	20.7%	79.3%	(251)	100.0%
Progressive Conservative	76.6	23.4	(320)	100.0%
NDP	71.2	28.8	(52)	100.0%
Social Credit	83.6	16.4	(122)	100.0%
Other Party	78.6	21.4	(14)	100.0%
No Party	60.6	39.4	(33)	100.0%

Gamma = .6313 df = 5 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

* Individuals professing not to know their Father's Party I.D. were omitted from the analysis

Table 8.5 Student's Level of Political Information by Parents' Level of Political Interest

Student's Level of Political Information	Parents' Level of Political Interest		
	High (N=446)	Medium (N=457)	Low (N=439)
High	30.7%	24.1%	15.5%
Medium	45.7	44.9	44.6
Low	23.6	31.0	39.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Gamma = .2349 df = 4 χ^2 significant beyond .0001

Table 8.6 Student's Level of Politicization
by Respondent's Political Party Identification *

Student's Level of Politicization	R's Political Party I.D.						
	Liberal	P.C.	NDP	Social Credit	Other Party	No Party	D.K.**
High	49.7%	52.8%	51.9%	48.1%	33.3%	22.6%	24.4%
Medium	35.6	33.2	26.9	38.0	20.0	42.9	35.4
Low	14.7	14.0	21.2	13.9	46.7	34.6	40.2
Total N	(320)	(271)	(52)	(108)	(15)	(133)	(455)
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

Gamma = .3353 df = 12 x^2 significant beyond .0001

* Mother's Party I.D. and Father's Party I.D. by R's Politicization is .2902 and .2635, respectively, for 12 degrees of freedom and for x^2 significant beyond .0001 level

** Don't Know

Table 8.7 R's Level of Political Information
by R's Political Party Identification
(N =1146)

Level of Political Information	R's Political Party I.D.					
	Liberal	P.C.	NDP	Social Credit	Other Party	No Party
Low	18.1%	12.6%	19.2%	31.5%	53.3%	36.6%
Medium	43.8	53.5	46.2	51.9	33.3	49.6
High	38.1	33.8	34.6	16.7	13.3	13.7
Total N	(320)	(269)	(52)	(108)	(15)	(382)
%	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1	99.9	99.9

Gamma = -.2720 df = 10 x^2 significant beyond .0001

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